

ROMANCE NOTES



VOLUME II, NUMBER 1

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ROMANCE NOTES

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ROMANCE NOTES

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"THERE'S NOT A NOTE OF MINE THAT'S WORTH THE NOTING"

WE APOLOGIZE TO Shakespeare for distorting this fair passage to suit our present thought. We have in mind the need for defining just what is meant by a scholarly note. Any one who has served on the editorial board of an average journal recognizes that many longer typescripts which he receives are over-expanded and should have been condensed for a Brief Mention section. Conversely the editors of a journal of Notes are kept busy with contributions which are "article" material with most of the juice removed. How can we encourage contributors to cast their findings in the proper mould for their subject matter?

A note should be a short idea without many obvious ramifications; or it can be an unedited poem or letter which, in content, contributes something to artistry or to the history of ideas. Again, it may be an interpretation of a difficult passage of a text. There is the bibliographical variety of note: a description of a book or manuscript which has been commonly missed and which is useful and important. A good note may do no more than call attention to something that should be studied further, which the author hopes to solve and in the meantime he invites others to try their hand at it. Some years ago it was customary to present etymological notes. All of us philologists looked forward to the day when some disciple would bring together for us our many etymologies and publish them in monograph form. Alas, the tide of time has shifted. Today it is more usual to discuss etymologies from a larger point of view, either structurally or with emphasis on multiple dialect relationships. However, it is conceivable that in certain cases an etymology can still be amply handled in brief form. It is not feasible to attempt here a defi-

dition for all the aspects of a note; but we do think it advisable for younger scholars to reflect upon the advantages of saving their broader findings for article length—both for their own prestige and for the peace of mind of bibliographers and editors. But when an idea *is* brief—and good—we welcome it to our journal: “Its body brevity, and wit its soul.”

U.T.H., Jr.

BERCEO'S EYA VELAR

By BRUCE W. WARDROPPER

¡Eya velar, eya velar, eya velar!

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Velat aljama de los judíos,
¡eya velar!
que non vos furten el Fijo de
Dios.
¡Eya velar! | por malcabo vos ha echado.
¡Eya velar! |
| 2. Ca furtávoslo querrán
¡eya velar!
Andrés e Peidro et Johan.
¡Eya velar! | 8. Non sabedes tanto de engaño
¡eya velar!
que salgades ende este año.
¡Eya velar! |
| 3. Non sabedes tanto descanto
¡eya velar!
que salgades de so el canto.
¡Eya velar! | 9. Non sabedes tanta razón
¡eya velar!
que salgades de la prisión.
¡Eya velar! |
| 4. Todos son ladronciellos
¡eya velar!
que assechan por los pestiellos.
¡Eya velar! | 10. Tomaseio e Matheo
¡eya velar!
de furtarlo han grant deseo.
¡Eya velar! |
| 5. Vuestra lengua tan palabarrera
¡eya velar!
havos dado mala carrera.
¡Eya velar! | 11. El discípulo lo vendió,
¡eya velar!
el Maestro non lo entendió.
¡Eya velar! |
| 6. Todos son omnes plegadizos,
¡eya velar!
rioaduchos mescladizos.
¡Eya velar! | 12. Don Philipo, Simón e Judas
¡eya velar!
por furtar buscan ayudas.
¡Eya velar! |
| 7. Vuestra lengua sin recabdo
¡eya velar! | 13. Si lo quieren acometer,
¡eya velar!
oy es día de parescer.
¡Eya velar! |

¡Eya velar, eya velar, eya velar!

IF BERCEO'S WATCH-SONG of the Jews is to make sense poetically and logically the traditional order of the strophes had to be disturbed. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos and Manuel Rodrigues Lapa, having recognized certain parallel constructions in the text, brought the parallelistic stanzas together in accordance

with the normal laws governing both Gallaeco-Portuguese and Castilian traditional song, but failed to discover the poet's train of thought.¹ It was left to the late Leo Spitzer to take the decisive step forward: not only did he apply prosodic criteria, but he also sought a logical progression from beginning to end of the poem. In his version the stanzas appear in the following sequence: 1, 2, 10, 12, 4, 6, 13, 11, 7, 5, 9, 8, 3.² However debatable the new arrangement may be,³ the fact remains that Spitzer was the first scholar to make the poem intelligible while at the same time guaranteeing, with his immense experience of medieval Romance literature, the essential plausibility of his new version. Spitzer gives careful reasons for the position of each stanza. In inadequate summary his justification is as follows. Stanza 1 is clearly introductory. 2 logically ("ca") follows it, and introduces the first names of disciples. The other stanzas with names must form a whole. The phrase "han grant deseo" parallels and intensifies "querrán," therefore the stanza containing the names of Thomas and Matthew must come next. Philip, Simon and Judas, in the remaining disciple strophe, are believed to be bringing in reinforcements—"ayudas," other disciples and followers—who must be the "todos" denigrated in the next two stanzas. From the parallel forms "todos son" the poet must have proceeded to the third-person plural verb "quieren acometer." Stanza 11 bridges the gap between the description of the thieving disciples and the taunting of the "Master." The Jewish sentries address the remaining parallelistic strophes to the dead Christ, mocking Him and reaching a climax in stanza 13: "you do not know how to escape from the enchantment of our song and emerge from under the stone blocking the entrance to the sepulchre."

The one weak stage in this otherwise very satisfactory argument, it seems to me, is the allegedly transitional stanza 11. From a vilification of *all* Christ's followers we descend abruptly to the one imperfect disciple, Judas. And the mere mention of

1. See J. B. Trend, "Sobre el 'eya velar' de Berceo," *NRFH*, V (1951), 226-228.

2. See Spitzer's fundamental study, "Sobre la cántica *eya velar*," *NRFH* IV (1950), 50-56.

3. Eugenio Asensio calls it "discutible" in *RFE*, XXXVII (1953), 150, n. 3.

the Master's name does not seem sufficient to trigger the sequence of sneers at Christ's claim to supernatural powers. Using Spitzer's arrangement as a basis I have reached what I think is a better understanding of the song.⁴

My first step was to place stanza 8 immediately after the naming of Judas.⁵ The disciple (i.e. *this*, last-named, disciple) betrayed Him; the Master did not understand now this was possible.⁶ But, the argument might go on if we took stanza 6 next, Christians are, all of them, an unreliable, treacherous rabble: upstarts ("plegadizos"), scum washed up by the river ("rioaduchos"), socially a mixed crowd and therefore potentially subversive ("mescladizos"). Furthermore, returning to the "furtar" theme by way of stanza 4, they are sneak thieves peeping through every keyhole ("pestiello," freely interpreted) and waiting for the least failure of Jewish vigilance to provide an opportunity to snatch Christ's body and falsely represent its disappearance as a Resurrection. If the Christians really mean to execute such a plan, today is the most likely time for it (stanza 13); therefore, Jews, be vigilant. This last strophe represents a kind of climax. To this point we have a poem complete in itself. The argument is, in summary: Watch, Jews, lest they steal the body you are guarding; the disciples are treacherous and thievish men; they may come at any moment; watch, watch, watch.

What are we to do with the remaining stanzas? They are five in number (3, 5, 7, 8, 9), all parallelistic in form, all addressed in the second person to the dead Christ. They all insult and taunt Him. They form, it seems to me, an entirely different sequence from the unilinear argument presented in the strophes we have already arranged. It is as though the singer or singers have up to now been facing outwards, expecting an attack or infiltration from without, whereas those who sing the *denuestos* face the tomb to make sure that Christ does not emerge by his

4. I am very much indebted to my wife, Nancy Palmer Wardropper for some valuable suggestions incorporated into this article.

5. It is curious to note that Berceo does not bear it in mind that Judas hanged himself before Christ's crucifixion.

6. This seems to me to be the only possible interpretation of "el Maestro non lo entendió," since Christ was aware that He was being betrayed.

own powers: powers which the singers deny Him, but half-believe, or fear, He may have.⁷

Is it not probable that these two songs are intended to be sung antiphonally or contrapuntally together? And is it not probable that, if they were written side by side on the original MS, they appeared to an unintelligent copyist—or his successor in the eighteenth century, who provided the only source of our text—to be a hopeless confusion, which he rashly attempted to set straight—with disastrous consequences.

In any case it is likely that the first sequence—the appeal to be watchful because the Christians are tricky people—was sung by one voice, the leader of the song or possibly Pilate⁸; the second sequence—the insults to Christ—appears, since it is more lyrical, to have been sung by a crowd in chorus. This is the typical way of performing a work song, with the professional leader carrying the burden of the song, while the workers join in the refrain. In this case the refrain—"¡jeya velar!"—would be sung by all, for its shout is evidently intended to help the guards keep awake.⁹ The rabble-rousing insults may also have served as a kind of chorus, but I suspect that it was sung in counterpoint, to a different but jibing melody, at the same time as the first sequence.¹⁰

I propose for the taunting strophes the same order as Spitzer devised, but I would print them alongside the rest of the poem, suggesting by the typographical arrangement that they were either intercalated stanza by stanza into the main body of the

7. The *denuestos*, so difficult to integrate into the poem, remind one of the similar problem posed by the *Razón de amor*, and also faced by Spitzer; see *Romania*, LXXI (1950), 145-165.

8. The context of the song in the *Duelo* suggests this as a possible conclusion (*BAE*, LVII, 136*b*).

9. "Eya," as Spitzer has shown, is originally a cry intended to encourage oarsmen. Just as a coxswain in a modern racing eight calls his long drawn-out numbers "on-óne," "Two-óo," so one may imagine "eya" sung with an extended first vowel and ending snappily on the sharp "ya." The sound would no doubt be effective as a jolt to jerk the guards out of their somnolence.

10. The effect might be as discordant as a Provençal *descort*, or a later Spanish *ensalada*, in which languages, tunes, texts were all mixed up to produce a jarring result. See Barbieri's discussion of an *ensalada* by Peñalosa in the *Cancionero musical español de los siglos XV y XVI* (Buenos Aires, 1945), p. 227, No. 438. See also "Corten espadas afiladas / lenguas malas" (*Canc. Maldinaceli*, No. 51).

song, or sung contrapuntally to another tune. Spitzer is surely right in regarding strophe 3 as the climactic one. The rules of parallelism more or less impose the rest of his arrangement on the *cantiga de escarnio*. The one major difficulty that I see lies in the fact that a triple parallelism is rare. I wonder if another stanza beginning "Non sabedes" was not lost. If another existed it is possible that the *cantiga de escarnio* had a rondo form: 9, 8, 7, 5, the missing stanza, 3—two "Non sabedes", two "Vuestra lengua," two "Non sabedes." It might also be argued that the position of stanzas 7 and 5 should be reversed, so that the "mala carrera" (life) should precede the "malcabo" (death), but it seems preferable to retain Spitzer's logical *leixapren* ("palabrera", "tanta razón").

My suggested text follows:

¡Eya velar, eya velar, eya velar!

1. Velat aljama de los judíos,
¡eya velar!
que non vos furten el Fijo de Dios.
¡Eya velar!

2. Ca furtárvoslo querrán
¡eya velar!
Andrés e Peidro et Johan.
¡Eya velar!

- I. Vuestra lengua sin recabdo
¡eya velar!
por malcabo vos ha echado.
¡Eya velar!

3. Tomaseio e Matheo
¡eya velar!
de furtarlo han grant deseo.
¡Eya velar!

- II. Vuestra lengua tan palabera
¡eya velar!
havos dado mala carrera.
¡Eya velar!

4. Don Philipo, Simón e Judas
¡eya velar!
por furtar buscan ayudas.
¡Eya velar!

III. Non sabedes tanta razón
 ¡eya velar!
 que salgades de la prisión.
 ¡Eya velar!

5. El discípulo lo vendió,
 ¡eya velar!
 el Maestro non lo entendió.
 ¡Eya velar!

IV. Non sabedes tanto de engaño
 ¡eya velar!
 que salgades ende este año.
 ¡Eya velar!

6. Todos son omnes plegadizos,
 ¡eya velar!
 rioaduchos mescladizos.
 ¡Eya velar!

V. Non sabedes tanto descanto
 ¡eya velar!
 que salgades de so el canto.
 ¡Eya velar!

7. Todos son ladronciellos
 ¡eya velar!
 que assechan por los pestiellos.
 ¡Eya velar!

8. Si lo quieren acometer,
 ¡eya velar!
 oy es día de parescer.
 ¡Eya velar!

¡Eya velar, eya velar, eya velar!

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BAUDELAIRE'S REFERENCE TO PASCAL IN "LE GOUFFRE"

By HERBERT S. GOCHBERG

THE EXTENT to which Baudelaire's aesthetic world may be called Pascalian is still a debatable question. Jean Pommier and Jean Prévost have not considered Baudelaire's contact with Pascal a point of special consequence.¹ Maurice Chapelan, on the other hand, has compared poet with apologist and, viewing them as moralists, has argued for a measurable *parenté*.² Although there are several undisguised allusions to Pascal and to the *Pensées* in Baudelaire's prose writings, there is but one in the *Fleurs du Mal*: "Le Gouffre" (*Nouvelles Fleurs du Mal*, VIII).³ Benjamin Fondane has discussed "Le Gouffre" as part of his very eloquent interpretation of Baudelaire's poetic world.⁴ He attributes to Pascal a "gouffre" which he equates with that of Baudelaire. In assuming that Pascal was haunted by a "gouffre," Fondane is merely following Baudelaire's lead. The development of Fondane's theme is motivated by the premise that Pascal and Baudelaire were both marked by the same experience. Fondane's point of departure is admittedly speculative for, as he himself asks, "Et d'abord, que savons-nous de précis sur le gouffre de Pascal?" (p. 226)

An examination of the poem and of its background will show that the reference can be explained readily, and that the presence of Pascal does not indicate that Baudelaire had any profound knowledge of Pascal or any enduring interest in him. What is

1. Pommier, in *Dans les chemins de Baudelaire* (Paris, 1945), concludes that Baudelaire was inspired more by the immediate past than by the generation of Pascal. "J. de Maistre a éclipsé Pascal" (178). Prévost, in his *Baudelaire* (Paris, 1953), is inclined to see certain "impressions esthétiques voisines," and feels that, like Pascal, Baudelaire "sent, voit et comprend par antithèses" (103-104).

2. Maurice Chapelan, "Baudelaire et Pascal," *Revue de France*, LXXVII (1933), 71-100.

3. References to Baudelaire's works are based on the *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Y.-G. Le Dantec, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris, 1951).

4. Benjamin Fondane, *Baudelaire et l'expérience du gouffre* (Paris, 1947), p. 226.

most significant, however, is the way in which the initial allusion appears to act as a release for the Pascalian associations found in the poem, particularly in the middle stanzas. "Le Gouffre" reads as follows:

Pascal avait son gouffre, avec lui se mouvant.
—Hélas! tout est abîme,—action, désir, rêve,
Parole! et sur mon poil qui tout droit se relève
Maintes fois de la peur je sens passer le vent.

En haut, en bas, partout, la profondeur, la grève,
Le silence, l'espace affreux et captivant . . .
Sur le fond de mes nuits Dieu de son doigt savant
Dessine un cauchemar multiforme et sans trêve.

J'ai peur du sommeil comme on a peur d'un grand trou,
Tout plein de vague horreur, menant on ne sait où;
Je ne vois qu'infini par toutes les fenêtres,

Et mon esprit, toujours du vertige hanté,
Jalouse du néant l'insensibilité.

—Ah! ne jamais sortir des Nombres et des Etres!

It is immediately apparent that Baudelaire is not really concerned with Pascal, but rather with himself. The sonnet first appeared in 1862 in *L'Artiste*, and may be linked with the following excerpt from *Mon Cœur mis à nu*: "Au moral comme au physique, j'ai toujours eu la sensation du gouffre, non-seulement du gouffre du sommeil, mais du gouffre de l'action, du rêve, du souvenir, du désir, du regret, du remords, du beau, du nombre, etc." The entry continues: "J'ai cultivé mon hystérie avec jouissance et terreur. Maintenant, j'ai toujours le vertige, et aujourd'hui 23 janvier 1862, j'ai subi un singulier avertissement, j'ai senti passer sur moi le vent de l'aile de l'imbécilité."⁵

It seems, then, that Baudelaire, physically ill and emotionally upset, has recalled something he once read or heard about Pascal. It is important to bear in mind that it cannot be a question of an idea which Baudelaire may have found in reading Pascal. On the contrary, the first line of the poem is nothing more than a famous, or infamous, piece of hearsay, a rumor added to Pascal's biography by the eighteenth century and accepted without question by those who chose to look upon Pascal as an *halluciné*. Although Baudelaire's access to this legend is not in itself an

5. *Oeuvres complètes*, p. 1225.

issue, the fact that he is aware of it, and even impressed by it, suggests that he "learned" his Pascal by reading Sainte-Beuve's *Port-Royal*, perhaps not very carefully.⁶

Baudelaire simply remembers something from Pascal's life and seeks to apply it to his own. There is a curious parallel in the last years of both figures, for, in spite of a lack of precise information, it is accepted that both Pascal and Baudelaire suffered considerably from physical pain and from concomitant nervous disorders. The theme of the *gouffre* runs through the entire poem: *abîme*, *profondeur*, *trou*, *néant*, and, in the opposite "direction," the poet speaks of *espace affreux* and *infini*. Accompanying Baudelaire's pain and vertigo is the sensation of fear: fear of death and insanity, fear of sleep and dream, and, most significantly, fear of space. Taken within the context of the sonnet, the line "le silence, l'espace affreux et captivant . . ." may well be a transformed reminiscence of "Le silence éternel de ces espaces infinis m'effraie."

In "Le Gouffre," then, Baudelaire's fearful meditations have led him to recall something associated with Pascal. The point of orientation is the legend of the abyss which had been reported to be the perpetual companion of Pascal. It is clear that Baudelaire ranks Pascal among the *hallucinés*. Since the poet himself is apparently suffering from a form of hallucination, it is not at all surprising that he recalls Pascal. With this image of Pascal fixed in the poet's mind, it appears that the Pascalian tones of the text are unconscious recollections of the *pensée* cited above. The reference to Pascal is undoubtedly a fugitive one, a passing moment of inspiration. For that brief moment, however, the Baudelaire of "Le Gouffre" curiously resembles the hypothetical *libertin* who said to Pascal: "Le silence éternel de ces espaces infinis m'effraie."

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6. The legend of the abyss had, in the nineteenth century, become an integral part of Pascalian lore. It is undoubtedly impossible to identify Baudelaire's source on this point. As Pommier observed, "Aucun classique n'a été, au milieu du siècle dernier, plus vivant que Pascal" (Pommier, *op. cit.*, p. 145). It is known, however, that Sainte-Beuve traced the story to the Jansenist abbé Boileau (*Journal des Savants*, 1737) and, after examining it at some length, dismissed it as unworthy of serious attention. See Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, ed. René-Louis Doyen and Charles Marchesne (Paris, 1926), II, pp. 198-201.

LIMA CASTILIAN: THE PRONUNCIATION OF SPANISH IN THE CITY OF THE KINGS

By D. LINCOLN CANFIELD

SEVERAL SYNCHRONIC STUDIES of Latin American Spanish have been made since World War II, following the indications of Professor Tomás Navarro's valuable *Cuestionario lingüístico hispanoamericano*.¹ But the more one examines the current manifestations of overseas Spanish, the more one recognizes the importance of the history of the Spanish Language, since current American varieties of spoken Spanish seem to have traits common to several regions, especially in phonology, and at the same time they represent phases of the evolution of Peninsular Castilian of the sixteenth century.

Lima, Peru, once an important viceregal center, and now capital of the modern republic, would seem to occupy the position of *Norma y modelo para el país* as far as language and other aspects of the Hispanic behavior pattern are concerned.²

The present study proposes to examine the pronunciation of the Spanish of present-day Lima, comparing its characteristics with those of other Spanish American dialects. The observations are based on tape recordings made by the author in Lima, in the summer of 1958. The order of the analyzed elements follows

1. Flórez, Luis, *La pronunciación del español en Bogotá*, Bogotá, Publicaciones del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, VIII, 1951. Lacayo, Heberto, "Apuntes sobre la pronunciación del español en Nicaragua," *Hispania*, XXXVII, No. 3, 1954.

Matluck, Joseph, *La pronunciación en el español del Valle de México*, México, 1951.

Navarro, Tomás, *El español en Puerto Rico*, Río Piedras, 1948.

Toscano Mateus, Humberto, *El español en el Ecuador* (*Revista de Filología Española*, Anejo LXI), Madrid, 1953.

Vidal de Battini, Berta Elena, *El habla rural de San Luis*, Biblioteca de Dialectología Hispanoamericana, VII, Buenos Aires, 1949.

Canfield, D. Lincoln, "La pronunciación del español en El Salvador," *Comunicaciones del Instituto de Investigaciones Científicas*, April 1953, San Salvador.

2. Cf. the work of Pedro Benvenuto Murrieta, *El lenguaje peruano*, Lima 1936.

that of Professor Navarro in the above-mentioned *cuestionario*, with emphasis on traits that seem to be distinctive.

Vowels

As is true in most of Spanish America, there seems to be less difference of quality among the vocalic allophones of Lima Spanish than in those of Spain. This difference may be due to several factors beyond the scope of this study, including, perhaps, Andalusian and Spanish American sibilant leveling of the sixteenth century. Thus it is that Lima vowels tend to be medium with respect to aperture, with a tendency toward closing, in contrast to the vowels of Caribbean Spanish which are inclined to be more open as an accompaniment to consonantal economy.

The /a/ of the open syllable, as well as that of the closed, is generally of medium quality. The variant that is quite noticeable is the one before a palatal consonant: *calle*, and *maña*, where closing is noted.

The /e/ is notably more closed than the Mexican or Central American variety in the open syllable, as well as in syllables closed by /s/, /l/, and /n/: *dedos*, *hielo*, *sé*, *mes*, *papel*, *ven*. The /e/ which seems to be most open is that which precedes the multiple vibrant /rr/. Before /x/ it is less open because of the palatal rather than the uvular articulation of this sound: *México*, *eje*. The tendency to close in the case of /e/ has been laid to a certain vocalic indifference of the Quechua language, which is spoken in the Peruvian highlands, where both /e/ and /o/ heighten toward /i/ and /u/.³

In the vowel /i/, one also notices considerable tension, even in the closed syllable.

In common with Mexican Spanish, one hears the syllabic consonant, the result of vocalic fusion in rapid speech. Among the youth of Lima, recounting holiday experiences, the question, "¿Qué hiciste tú?" was very common. Acoustically it became [ke isistú].

In affected or feminine speech, the final vowel after a voiceless consonant is often heard as a surd: *ocho*, *mucho*, *quince*, *cinco*. This "whispered" vocalization is also heard in Mexico and in the highlands of Central America.

In comparison with El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua, there is less diphthong reduction. The elision of contiguous

3. *ibid*, p. 123.

vowels, with the resulting losses, is as common as it is in other parts of the Spanish-speaking world: [tol día], [par el], [kators-jaños].

Consonants

As far as the voiced consonants are concerned, the articulation may be of such slight friction that they sometimes vocalize completely. This is especially heard among children and youths, and it offers a marked contrast to the Spanish of Nicaragua and El Salvador, where /b/, /d/, /g/ are still occlusives after /r/, /l/, /s/ as well as under "normal" circumstances. The word *sábado* becomes [saao], and *amigas* is pronounced [amías], *todos los días*, [toloziás], *mis deberes*, [mizeberes]. In the conversion of *volver* and *Bolívar* into [golvér] and [golíbar] (fricative values not indicated), two historical trends of Castilian are in play: development of a fricative *b*, approaching [w] in value, and then the Romance propensity to velarize this latter element.

The /f/ vacillates between labio-dental and bi-labial, and is generally bi-labial before [w] and [o].

Lima /s/ is apico-dental, similar to the sibilant of northern Mexico, and without the lisping effect which is to be heard so much in Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Venezuela and Puerto Rico.⁴ The grooving of the tongue gives this phoneme definite sibilant character, but without the grave tone of the apico-alveolar of Spain north of Andalucía and Badajoz. As in all of Spanish-speaking America, the so-called *seseo* holds sway. Actually, the phenomenon is historically a *ceceo* and is testimony of the dephonomization of the Castilian thick apico-alveolar /s/, a development economic in nature and of Andalusian origin. In general, the /s/ is not "eaten" in Lima. Nevertheless, the pre-consonantal sibilant, especially before a voiced consonant, becomes an aspirate sporadically: [lah bakas], [loh gatos], [eh mwi grande]. Occasionally the /s/ becomes an aspirate before a surd. [buhka]. Final /s/ in a breath group is usually heard as a distinct sibilant. As in most of the Latin American highlands, /s/ becomes [z] before a voiced consonant: [laz manos], [doz niños].

As far as the phoneme /x/ is concerned, it has a great deal of similarity to the Mexican type, that is to say, it is usually palatal

4. Navarro y Lacayo refer to the lisping tendency in the above-cited works, and we have recordings of the effect alluded to from many individuals of El Salvador and some from Venezuela.

rather than uvular, as it is in northern and central Spain. At the same time, its friction is much more perceptible than that of Cuba, Puerto Rico and Central America.

The /r/ turns out to be clear and distinct without alternating with /l/, but in affected speech it may become unvoiced, as a sign of open juncture. One does not hear the sibilant-like /rr/ that is so common in Guatemala, Costa Rica, Bogotá and Bolivia. Nor does one hear the velar variety of Puerto Rico.

The *ch* is similar to that of Central America and Mexico, with a fricative element of more duration than the "standard" of Spain, and, at the same time, of lower resonance. The [y] is of relaxed tension and does not approach the palatal sibilant of Argentina, nor the affricate of Paraguay. There is no distinction between *ll* and *y*, another dephonemization which is apparently becoming daily more extended among Spanish-speaking people.

Perhaps the point at which Lima Spanish resembles the Caribbean and Central American Spanish the most is in the nasal sounds. The /n/ in open juncture tends to be velar, and this velarization is apparently sensed as a symbol of finality.⁵

General Observations

The general acoustic effect of Lima Castilian is similar to that of Mexico, Bolivia, highland Colombia and Ecuador. However, it has one thing in common with the Spanish of Central America and the Caribbean: the velar *n* before a pause. Then, too, the fact that the young *limeños* tend to aspirate or drop the *s* under certain circumstances may be an indication of a trend from highland to coastal articulation, since in any society children are the custodians of speech.

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5. See Hyman, Ruth L., "[velar *n*] as an Allophone Denoting Open Juncture in Several Spanish-American Dialects," *Hispania*, XXXIX, No. 3, 1956.

CHARLES PEGUY: RASSEMBLEUR DES SIECLES DE L'HUMANISME CHRETIEN

By MOTHER M. LOUIS KELLY

"Rassembleur des siècles de Jésus, qui sont tous les siècles de l'histoire, comme Claudel est le rassembleur de la terre de Dieu, Péguy n'oublie ni son propre siècle ni les âges à venir"¹

IL N'Y A RIEN, nous dit Péguy, à renier de l'humain, et historiquement, du monde antique. Renoncer à Zeus et à Jupiter, oui, mais en se reconnaissant héritier d'Homère et de Virgile. Le chrétien doit, comme Polyeucte, le martyr, vaincre non seulement au regard du païen par plus de noblesse. De plus, il doit vaincre d'une telle façon que l'adversaire conscient qu'une force et une splendeur qu'il ignore triomphent de lui, reçoive de cette défaite l'essentielle blessure d'inquiétude.

Péguy s'adresse à tous ceux qui, par-delà plus d'un siècle où le christianisme s'éloigne de la masse, tentent de renouer avec les époques de chrétienté où la religion ne se séparait pas du peuple. La note qui convient le mieux aux trois dernières œuvres de Péguy, *Clio*, *Eve*, et la *Note Conjointe*, c'est qu'elles restent les "chartes de l'humanisme chrétien".

Poète de la présence de Dieu dans l'univers, Péguy, rassemble tout héritage séculaire dans l'universalisme de l'Incarnation. Ce sont "tous les siècles de Jésus" ou la doctrine du Corps mystique. Et Péguy découvre cette réalité à travers la vie quotidienne:

"... à la fin des temps modernes et à l'aurore d'un nouvel âge, sur le double plan de la pensée et de la vie, se trouve ... l'existence nouvelle inaugure humblement sur la terre, dans la foi et l'espérance, la joie de la communion".²

"Dieu sensible au cœur" est toujours le Dieu vivant de Péguy. Pour lui, il s'agit bien de construire un monde chrétien, et il nous conseille de faire de même, car il ne s'agit plus aujourd'hui de gagner les âmes une à une. *Clio* ou le Dialogue de l'histoire et de l'âme païenne laisse entendre que les modernes sont absents du colloque avec la vieille Muse et c'est "qu'ils manquent d'âme",

1. Albert Béguin, *Feuillets Mensuels, L'Amitié Charles Péguy*, Paris, # 9, février, 1950, p. 25.

2. Emile Rideau, *Paganisme ou Christianisme*, Paris: Casterman, 1953, p. 203.

car, nous dit-il, "ils ne sont ni Paiens, ni chrétiens, ni spirituels, ni charnels".³

Péguy explique que les modernes ont le culte du papier qui enregistre, de l'inscription, mais avec leurs boîtes à fiches, ils courent après l'événement sans jamais le rejoindre. Ils "établissent" les textes, mais l'historien digne du nom est mémorialiste ou chroniqueur. Pour ce dernier le vieillissement est lié à la mémoire, et il rapporte les faits sans autre intention que de faire un récit vivant. Ce sont les hommes de quarante ans, nous dit Péguy, qui ont spécialement ce privilège. A cet âge c'est "le plein de la mélancolie de l'homme", et ils sont tous mémorialistes.

Mais Péguy fait aboutir l'héroïsme profane à la sainteté, le temps à l'éternité et l'amour humain à la charité surtout dans *Eve*, son poème de l'Incarnation. Le dialogue d'*Eve* s'étend à toute la chrétienté. Ce poème est le testament spirituel aussi bien que le chef-d'oeuvre poétique de Péguy. La renaissance du catholicisme militant que Péguy inaugure est notée par M. Andreu en 1914:

"*Polyeucte* excepté, que Péguy nous a enseigné à mettre au-dessus de tout, tout permet de penser que cette *Eve* est l'oeuvre la plus considérable qui ait été produite en catholicité depuis le XIV^e siècle".⁴

Dans son *Essai de lecture commentée*, Albert Béguin prouve que l'épopée d'*Eve* est commandée, en toutes ses parties, par les articulations internes et la hiérarchie essentielle des mystères de la foi. L'architecture du poème est très solide, car elle est soutenue par une théologie optimiste. Du Paradis terrestre et de la Chute au Jugement Dernier, l'histoire humaine déroule ses siècles. La Croix, plantée au milieu de cette histoire séculaire, inverse le temps, le transforme en une pente remontante, et l'emploie à "faire l'éternité".

L'*Eve* de Péguy est un poème sacré inseparable de la théologie et de la foi. La concordance, chez Péguy, de cette théologie orthodoxe avec les arguments qu'il tient de Pascal et les intuitions métaphysiques auxquelles l'exerça l'enseignement de Bergson est à noter. La composition de l'oeuvre répond aux exigences profondes de sa vision théologique:

"Eve est l'humanité elle-même, qui a connu la béatitude du paradis terrestre et qui dans son exil temporel en garde le souvenir en même temps qu'elle a con-

3. Charles Péguy, *Cléo*, Paris: Gallimard, 1932, p. 200.

4. Pierre Andreu, "Péguy, Sorci et Lotte", *Feuillets*, janvier 1953, #31, p. 12.

science de sa présente infortune . . . Il (Jésus) lui remet en mémoire le paradis perdu, la profondeur de sa chute, la gravité du Jugement, mais aussi le fait de l'Incarnation et l'opération du Sacrifice divin . . . le Christ incarné et crucifié a changé tous les signes . . . comme un mouvement occupé à *faire* l'éternité. Vainement l'homme s'ingénie à trouver ailleurs, en lui-même, dans ses activités et le progrès de ses connaissances, les raisons qui puissent apaiser son angoisse . . . Les figures des deux saintes de France, Geneviève et Jeanne, à la fin du poème, donnent . . . l'exemple le plus humble, et pourtant le plus exorbitant, puisque leur vie et leur mort permettent de risquer une étonnante affirmation: que Dieu lui-même a besoin de l'oeuvre du temps, et qu'il ne peut, pour faire son paradis, qu'accepter ces matériaux que par ses saints, par l'Eglise, lui apporte la terre".⁵

Péguy parvient à nous placer dans le drame existentiel de notre temps qui est la justification de toute son oeuvre poétique. Il écrit en vers une histoire qui est arrivée et qui continue dans des alternatives d'ombre et de lumière en nous menant du berceau à la tombe. Son poème d'*Eve*, qui est une bouleversante évocation de deux éternités, représente la vie et la mort où passent les secrets accords de l'humaine détresse et de l'élévation spirituelle dont l'Incarnation est le lieu géométrique. Poète de l'Incarnation, il nous met en sa présence. L'unité de la nature et de la grâce est la clef de l'Incarnation:

"Car le surnaturel est lui-même charnel
Et l'arbre de la grâce est raciné profond
Et plonge dans le sol et cherche jusqu'au fond
Et l'arbre de la race est lui-même éternel.
. . . Et c'est le même sang qui court dans les deux veines,
Et c'est la même sève et les mêmes vaisseaux,
Et c'est le même honneur qui court dans les deux peines,
Et c'est le même sort scellé des mêmes sceaux".⁶

La sainte que Péguy prie avec une particulière dilection, n'est-ce pas celle en qui s'accomplit d'abord la mystérieuse Incarnation? Le mystère que Péguy réalise le plus profondément est celui de l'Incarnation, qui est l'insertion dans le temps et dans l'espace de Dieu lui-même. C'est ainsi que la détresse s'achèvera dans le paradis retrouvé:

"C'est la terre qui gagne et c'est elle en effet
. . . C'est elle qui recule aux horizons de l'âme
Les immenses destins du temporel Paris".⁷

5. Albert Béguin, *L'Eve de Péguy*, Paris: Labergerie, 1948, pp. 22s.

6. Charles Péguy, *Les Tapisseries—Eve*, dans *Oeuvres Poétiques Complètes*, Paris: Gallimard, 1948, p. 813.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 937.

Quand Péguy dit que ce poème d'*Eve* sera une Iliade ou encore qu'il sera plus fort que le Paradis de Dante, il a prévu que ce sera l'oeuvre la plus monumentale et la plus profonde de la poésie contemporaine. Pour lui, le christianisme appartient essentiellement au monde de la vie selon les paroles mêmes du Christ, rien n'est séparé ni séparable du mystère de l'Incarnation. L'*Eve* est un drame dont toute âme humaine est le théâtre :

"Dante, vois-tu, c'est un touriste. Un touriste de génie, . . . Moi, je ne lève pas la tête, je ne vais pas me balader dans le ciel et dans l'enfer, je ne raconte pas des histoires, je ne travaille pas sur les pécheurs qui ont leur nom dans le Larousse illustré. Eve c'est toi, c'est moi, tu comprends, c'est le pécheur de la plus commune espèce. Et il s'agit tout le temps de savoir, pendant dix ou douze mille vers, comment ce bougre-là sera sauvé ou damné".⁸

Péguy s'inquiète tellement des chrétiens qu'il écrit du sang de son coeur son *Eve* à laquelle personne ne s'intéresse de son vivant.

Mais c'est surtout dans *Note conjointe* que Péguy comme chrétien prend véritablement toute sa taille. Il y atteste avoir retrouvé la voie de chrétienté en suivant toujours la même voie droite, par un approfondissement continu de son être spirituel. Le monde honnête ne mouille pas à la grâce, cependant, Péguy constate que ce même monde a encore le Dieu qu'il ne mérite pas. Comme la grâce s'est faite temporelle, Jésus-Christ parallèlement s'est fait homme sans tricherie. L'Incarnation a été si réelle que Jésus non seulement a accompli les Prophéties, revêtu la liberté créée, connu la mort, mais qu'il s'est soumis encore à tout l'appareil de la justice humaine, aux dégradations de l'histoire, de la critique et de l'exégèse. Corps et âme sont associés dans l'oeuvre du salut. Péguy accepte avec confiance que l'existence soit "l'attente d'une mort plus vivante que vie". Avec une intelligence extraordinaire des mystères de la foi, Péguy nous met en la présence de l'Homme-Dieu :

". . . Miracle des miracles, mystère des mystères: parce que Jésus-Christ est devenu notre frère charnel, c'est à nous, infirmes, qu'il a été donné, c'est de nous qu'il dépend, infirmes et charnels, de conserver vivantes les paroles de la vie".⁹

A travers les siècles il y a continuité absolue du grand corps mystique où circule à pleins bords la sève de la grâce :

"Le plus humble prêtre . . . le dernier des fidèles dans la plus humble des paroisses françaises reçoit le même corps de Jésus que donnait et que recevait

8. J.-J. Tharaud, *Notre Cher Péguy*, Paris: Plon, Vol. II, p. 62.

9. Charles Péguy, *Note conjointe*, Paris: Gallimard, 1935, p. 73.

saint Augustin et saint Paul, saint Louis et saint François, Jeanne d'Arc, Pascal, Corneille".¹⁰

Péguy place au coeur même de son christianisme le dogme de la Rédemption. Il porte son être entier, dans un élan total vers le Christ par l'intermédiaire de la Vierge et des saints. Péguy aime à dire qu'il laisse Claudel dans la compagnie des anges et des séraphins, mais que lui, il marche avec la piétaille. Dans chacune des oeuvres de Péguy, le lecteur est amené à méditer des attitudes exemplaires pour la chrétienté à rebâtir.

Fils de la France laborieuse, Péguy prend la mesure des choses et l'exacte dimension des êtres. Dans la lutte tragique de l'homme et de la création, l'attente reste toujours annonciatrice d'espérance. Comme vigneron de la pensée et de la vie, Péguy parle de la vigne avec compétence. Il ne sépare jamais l'arbre de son fruit, il distingue sans dissocier. Péguy nous transporte au coeur même de la transubstantiation miraculeuse:

"Vigne, vigne sacrée, vin qui fûtes changé au sang de Jésus-Christ, . . . Vin qui n'êtes plus que les aspects du vin; vin qui n'êtes plus que les apparences du vin; vin qui n'êtes plus que les espèces du vin".¹¹

Il semble, à lire Péguy, que l'on assiste à cette métamorphose et que l'on voie à la lettre le vin perdre sa densité charnelle, sa liqueur, son degré, son bouquet, pour atteindre à la fluidité spirituelle du Vin des anges.

D'instinct Péguy pénètre le mystère de la Vigne dans son être même et dans sa réalité spirituelle. S'il en parle sans fausse éloquence, c'est peut-être parce que ses épreuves spirituelles ont fait pour lui Calice la Coupe de la Vie. Péguy nous fait toucher l'objet et saisir le réel. Comme lui, il nous faut, aujourd'hui, un renouvellement profond de la conscience religieuse et un sens de la dignité chrétienne basé sur le grand mystère de l'Incarnation. Cet équilibre de la vie que Péguy proclame ne s'achève que le jour où les chrétiens vivent totalement leur christianisme.

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10. Charles Péguy, *Un Nouveau Théologien*, dans *Oeuvres en Prose*, 1909-1914, Paris: Gallimard, 1957, p. 917.

11. Charles Péguy, *Mystère de la Charité de Jeanne d'Arc*, dans *Oeuvres Poétiques Complètes*, Paris: Gallimard, 1948, p. 23.

A SOURCE OF THE DOUBLING OF CHARACTERS IN *JUDITH Y LAS ROSAS*

By JOHN F. TULL, JR.

"*JUDITH Y LAS ROSAS*," (1956), Conrado Nalé Roxlo's most recent full length play is a "farce in three acts and four scenes," inspired by the story of Judith and Holofernes in the apocryphal *Book of Judith*.¹ The Argentine dramatist's new comedy contains examples of devastating satire and stresses very complex and extremely subtle psychological changes in its main characters. Judith appears initially as an impetuous young woman, spurred on by her rebellion against her elders and her longing for a new life to rush into an utterly defenseless position before the advances of a lusty Holofernes.

But this is not the true Holofernes, and when the real general arrives, Judith must adjust herself to the impact of a new and totally different personality. Then the real Holofernes and Judith move together during an increasingly subtle probing of the nature of their aims in life and love for each other.

Here there is a point of contact with Giraudoux's *Judith*, a tragedy, 1931.² When Giraudoux's Judith is about to leave for Holofernes' camp, another girl, Suzannah, offers to go in her place. Suzannah has long admired Judith and has copied her ways and dress to the extent that she is taken for Judith by some.

Although Judith rejects Suzannah's offer, the girl follows her to Holofernes' encampment anyway. When Judith first arrives at the camp, she is duped and ridiculed by Sarah, an old and bitter Hebrew Celestina, and Egon, a Babylonian officer who pretends to be Holofernes. Judith plays up to Egon until he and Sarah derisively reveal his true identity. Then the real Holofernes arrives and orders Sarah to be slain for her guile.

This doubling of Judith and Suzannah, and Holofernes and Egon, calls to mind the doubling of Holofernes and his lieuten-

1. C. Nalé Roxlo, *La cola de la sirena. Una viuda difícil. El pacto de Cristina. Judith y las rosas*. (Buenos Aires, 1957), p. 283.

2. J. Giraudoux, "Judith," *Théâtre complet*, vol. II (Neuchâtel, 1945).

ant, Anubiasis, in Nalé's play. In the Argentine work, Anubiasis is Holofernes' willing substitute on the battlefield and in the boudoir, while the audience is at first completely unaware of that fact. Egon is not really Holofernes' substitute in Giraudoux's play and the audience knows this, but still it seems very likely that Nalé was familiar with the French work and that this notion of doubling the characters was one of the germinal ideas in the development of his plot. Characteristically, however, the idea underwent considerable modifications in the Argentine author's imagination and emerged as a basically different device in terms of the situations and themes of the *porteño Judith*.

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A RENAISSANCE SONNET OF ENRIQUE BANCHS

By NED DAVISON

Virtually all poets experiment, in the exercise of their craft, with patterns and devices which have proved successful to other poets of their own and earlier times. When the poet is one, however, whose method is expressly rooted in traditionalism, the results are frequently more successful in their own right as poems. Such a poem is Enrique Banchs' sonnet *Como es de amantes necesaria usanza*.¹

Como es de amantes necesaria usanza
huir la compañía y el ruido,
vagaba en sitio solo y escondido
como en floresta umbría un ciervo herido.

Y a fe, que aunque cansado de esperanza,
pedía al bosquecillo remembranza
y en cada cosa suya semejanza
con el ser que me olvida y que no olvido.

Cantar a alegres pájaros oía
y en el canto su voz no conocía;
miré al cielo de un suave azul y perla

y no encontré la triste y doble estrella
de sus ojos. . . y entonces para verla
cerré los míos y me hallé con ella. (*La urna*, 1911)

From the opening line the imitation of the Renaissance sonnet is apparent. The tone of the hendecasyllable is elevated by the hyperbaton and reinforced by the deliberate archaisms which lengthen the movement of the line and endow it with a kind of Santillanesque sententiousness. The abstractness of this opening line is subsequently relieved with the image of flight which echoes the initial stanza of Fray Luis' *Vida Retirada*:

1. Enrique Banchs, an Argentine, has not published a collection of poetry since *La urna* in 1911, the work from which the poem under discussion is taken. Prior to *La urna* he published three books of poetry, *Las barcas* (1907), *El libro de los elogios* (1908), and *El casabel del halcón*—perhaps his best known—in 1909. All of these works were published before the poet was twenty-four years old.

¡Qué descansada vida
 la del que huye el mundanal rüido,
 y sigue la escondida
 senda, por donde han ido
 los pocos sabios que en el mundo han sido!

The philosophical tone is sustained by Banchs in the second line, but the severity of the "necesaria usanza" has been tempered. "Hüir la compañía y el rüido" effectively recalls the mood of Fray Luis' verse by echoing the most famous instance of diaeresis in the language. The imitation is reinforced by the addition of "hüir" which opens the line and virtually italicizes "rüido." Further emphasis is given through the common Renaissance device of polarizing the key words of the line or stanza thereby creating a physical equilibrium which may be accompanied by a rhythmical or conceptual balance as well.

The last lines of the first quatrain continue the movement away from the philosophical toward the lyric. The image of the wounded deer that wanders hidden in the woods, while being perhaps one of the most common in the love lyrics of the Renaissance, immediately suggests, within the Spanish tradition, the beginning stanza of San Juan de la Cruz' *Cántico Espiritual*:

¿A dónde te escondiste,
 Amado, y me dejaste con gemido?
 Como el ciervo huiste,
 habiéndome herido;
 salí tras ti clamando, y eras ido

The dominance of the consonantal rhyme "ido" in the opening stanzas of these three poems further strengthens the reminiscences. Although Banchs has followed the usual Renaissance image more closely than San Juan, whose deer inflicts the wound, his words—*hüir, escondido, ciervo, herido*—call to mind the most familiar instance of their use, that of the *Cántico*—*escondiste, ciervo, huiste, herido*. Banchs has created a rich world of sensation and meaning in these four lines. He has also moved, with a rapidity characteristic of Renaissance transition, from the expansive, almost impersonal, "como es de amantes necesaria usanza" to the intimate and sentimental image of the deer.

The second stanza continues the interiorization of the emotion, sustained in its dignity by the archaisms which tend to prevent the image from escaping into the pathetic. The restrained plea to nature carries a hint of the Romantic but, because of the diction, never completely leaves the boundaries of the Petrarchan

tradition.² The closing line of this stanza re-establishes, by virtue of the antithetical word play on "olvidar," the dominance of the traditional.

The final tercets preserve the image of the search in which the sounds of nature fail to bring forth the beloved and the heavens fail to yield the lost love which, as in the Renaissance conceit, resides within the eyes of the beloved. The final line binds the entire sonnet together with the capture of the beloved within the mind of the poet through the imagination. The resolution calls to mind the closing image of Sor Juana's *Detente, sombra de mi bien esquivo*:

Mas blasonar no puedes satisfecho
de que triunfa de mi tu tiranía;
que aunque dejas burlado el lazo estrecho
que tu forma fantástica ceñía,
poco importa burlar brazos y pecho,
si te labra prisión mi fantasía.

In these poems, as in the sonnet CLXXVI of Petrarch, the vigor of the imagination transcends the natural world. In Petrarch, and to some extent in Sor Juana also, nature is bent by the imaginative faculty, it is forced to conform to the designs of the fancy. In Banchs the victory is less athletic, more passive and feminine. Both instances depend, however, upon "eyes" that "see" inadequately. It is the mind's eye that provides the clearest vision.

2. Petrarch's sonnet CLXXVI possibly offered the rhetorical model for this plea, but in Banchs the image of the beloved is sought unsuccessfully by the lover—a common formula among the Romantics—whereas in Petrarch nature gives substance to the visions that the poet's imagination projects. My thanks to Chandler Beall who called this sonnet to my attention.

Per mezz'i boschi inospiti e selvaggi,
Onde vanno a gran rischio uomini et arme,
Vo secur io; che non può spaventarme
Altri che 'l Sol ch'ha d'Amor vivo i raggi.
E vo cantando (o penser miei non saggi!)
Lei che 'l Ciel non poria lontana farme;
Ch'p' Pho negli occhi; e veder seco parme
Donne e donzelle, e sono abeti e faggi.
Parmi d'urdirla, udendo i rami e l'ore
E le frondi, e gli augei lagnarsi, e l'acque
Mormorando fuggir per l'erba verde.
Raro un silenzio, un solitario orrore
D'ombrosa selva mai tanto mi piacque;
Se non che del mio Sol troppo si perde.

The final line of Banchs' poem is likely to draw its readers abruptly into the near present with the suggestion of Silva's famous *Nocturn III*, in which the lost love is rejoined in the dark of evening where the poet's shadow encounters again the beloved, "y marchó con ella." Banchs' phrase, "y me hallé con ella," also six syllables, is constructed in identical fashion to that of Silva. Not only does the stress fall on the third of the six syllables, but in both instances the words are "agudas." The echo of Silva would not be so persistent, perhaps, were it not that this particular phrase is repeated three times in Silva's poem, and at the end as in Banch's sonnet. The parallel goes beyond the mere phrase, however; in Silva's poem, as in the love lyrics under discussion, the beloved is recovered through the power of the imagination which rejects the image that reality provides and which reconstructs nature to fit its own requirements. The shadow is not a shadow but the beloved.

The modern note is appropriate since it reinforces other contemporary elements. The suggestion of Romantic melancholy has been mentioned. Also, though the closing image is similar conceptually to Sor Juana's, the tone here is markedly more modern. The difference lies in the absence in Banchs' poem of the almost militaristic and highly involute nature of Sor Juana's conceit. Furthermore, the rhyme scheme is a complete deviation from Renaissance patterns—as is the polysyndeton much closer to Darío than to Garcilaso. Banchs' closing lines are made up of a vocabulary, syntax and imagery which, in the aggregate, are typically romantic.

The skillful manner in which he has blended the old with the new gives his poem an air of existing out of time, and the experience is generalized. The past is recalled and fused with the present in order to establish the perpetually *present* nature of the experience. The union revives for the moment of the sonnet the anguish of loss and the absoluteness of the victory.

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

HAZLITT'S USE OF *DON QUIXOTE* ALLUSIONS

By W. U. McDONALD, JR.

ALTHOUGH NOT ONE of the writers who in the early 19th century sought generally to popularize Spanish literature in England, William Hazlitt must be placed high on any list of Romantic enthusiasts for Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. In addition to his expressed desire to read the novel in the original¹ (he read Smollett's translation²) and his willingness to "forgive much" to the person who had twice done so,³ there is the obviously admiring testimony of his critical commentary in "The Standard Novels and Romances" (1815).⁴ Even more indicative of his responsiveness to this work are the some fifty references to it scattered through other writings on various topics. In one sense most interesting of all, however, are the twenty-eight references which are not direct comments on the novel or its chief characters as such, but rather are allusions introduced into a variety of contexts far different from their original ones to provide illustration or evidence of some point that Hazlitt is attempting to make.

These allusions denote a pervasive influence; they might be said, in fact, to contribute, however slightly, to the very fiber of Hazlitt's prose, as an examination of their occurrence will show. Twelve of them are rather routinely employed for illustrative or comparative purposes. Thus Sancho's eagerness to become a governor and his subsequent willingness to lose the position is cited to demonstrate man's aversion to changes which make him look ridiculous (XVII, 271).⁵ Or there is the rather obvious comparison, couched in simile-like form, to make the point that

1. *Works*, ed. P. P. Howe (London, 1930-34), XII, 229. All references to Hazlitt's writings are to this edition.

2. P. P. Howe, *Life of William Hazlitt* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1949), p. 340n.

3. *Works*, XII, 160n.

4. *Ibid.*, XVI, 7-10. First published in the *Edinburgh Review*, it was later incorporated into "Lectures on the English Comic Writers" (*Ibid.*, VI, 107-112). Documentary footnotes to the *Works* appear in the text henceforth.

5. See also XVII, 259, and VII, 37. Cf. XVI, 402.

poets choose mistresses with few charms that they might show their creative powers: "As Don Quixote said, in answer to the matter of fact remonstrances of Sancho, that Dulcinea del Tobosc answered the purpose of signalising his valour just as well as the 'fairest princess under sky,' so many of the fair sex will serve them to write about just as well as another" (VIII, 238).⁶

But more often—in sixteen instances, in fact—Hazlitt's handling of *Don Quixote* allusions is characterized by subtle variations in the way they are introduced and by the unexpectedness of the situations into which they are introduced. In reviewing Southey's *A Letter to William Smith*, for example, he utilizes a remark of Sancho Panza's with biting effect to characterize that author's turncoatism with regard to the costliness of war: "Mr. Southey in his raptures forgets his war-hoop, and is ready to exclaim with *Sancho Panza*, when the exploits of knight-errantry are over, and he turns all his enthusiasm to a pastoral account, 'Oh what delicate wooden spoons shall I carve! What crumbs and cream shall I devour!' " (VII, 207). Or he compares the attitude of "People with One Idea" to that revealed by Sancho upon being reprimanded for referring to homely food while in the duke's kitchen; as Sancho said " 'There I thought of Dapple, and there I spoke of him'—so the true stickler for Reform neglects no opportunity of introducing the subject wherever he is" (VIII, 61).

Most often a *Quixote* allusion forms one part of a figure of speech involving a comparison of a character or situation in the novel with something unexpected outside it, without benefit of such quoted dialogue. Some of these similes rely for effectiveness on the novelty and the balanced detail of the comparison, as when he writes of "Vetus," whose style and reasoning he considers of a piece: "Like the hero of Cervantes, harranguing the shepherds, he assaults the very vault of Heaven with the arrogance of his tone, and the loudness of his pretensions" (VII, 40). Or after a sustained passage on the sketchy quality of Spence's *Anecdotes* of Pope, he concludes: "It is made up of shreds and patches, and not cut out of the entire piece: something like the little caps into which the tailor in *Don Quixote* cut his cloth, and held them up at his fingers' ends" (XVI, 156).⁷ But Hazlitt's

6. See also XVII, 225.

7. See also I, 216-217, 233; XVIII, 317.

use of such a figure can be more complex. Consider the following statement from a passage on Scott's novels where the *Don Quixote* allusion is part of a simile which in turn is part of a metaphor: "His prose is a beautiful, rustic nymph, that, like Dorothea in *Don Quixote*, when she is surprised with dishevelled tresses bathing her naked feet in the brook, looks round her, abashed at the admiration her charms have excited!" (XI, 61). Another simile used to characterize a literary work demonstrates still another variation in that the *Quixote* allusion is given in some detail but, provocatively, the application of it is left largely to the reader: Rabelais' writings are said to be "like Camacho's wedding in *Don Quixote*, where Sancho ladled out whole pullets and fat geese from the soup-kettles at a pull" (V, 113).

On other occasions Hazlitt reverses the process and carefully spells out the situation or character he is discussing, then with relative brevity alludes to a character or situation in the novel to underscore his point. Thus the characterization of a Tory as one who "does as he is prompted by his own advantage" and who "knows on which side his bread is buttered" includes the remark that "He is for going with Sancho to Camacho's wedding, and not for wandering with Don Quixote in the desert, after the mad lover" (VII, 17). Or note this analysis of Canning's foreign policy, which Hazlitt has been dissecting as inconsistent: "First we are to hold the balance of Europe, and to dictate and domineer over the whole world; and then we are to creep into our shells and draw in our horns; one moment resembling Don Quixote, the next playing the part of Sancho Panza" (XI, 154). Here the reader is prompted to recall his knowledge of these two characters and apply it to this vacillating foreign policy which Hazlitt summarizes, thus actively participating in the simile, so to speak. And on occasion he can be even more succinct, as in a review of "The Honeymoon" for the *Times* where he declared that Harley as the Mock Duke "seemed like Sancho Panza in his government" (XVIII, 267-268).

In contrast to the marked plenitude of similes, *Quixote* allusions as symbols and metaphors are rare, but two passages involving Dulcinea del Toboso indicate that Hazlitt could use them effectively if he chose. Discussing the shyness of scholars who willingly accept a return of affection from persons of lower circumstances, he describes them as taking up "with the first

Dulcinea del Toboso that they meet with, when, would they only try the experiment, they might do much better" (XVII, 263).⁸ And in a passage comparing Rousseau and Wordsworth he summarizes and judges Wordsworth's attitude toward Nature in a beautifully succinct metaphor: "His Nature is a mere Dulcinea del Toboso, and he would make a Vashti of her" (IV, 92).

Thus, besides testifying implicitly to Hazlitt's fondness for Cervantes' novel, the *Don Quixote* allusions contribute to the pungency and figurativeness of his prose, primarily as members of similes. As such their use follows varied but recurrent patterns which underscore not only Hazlitt's own familiarity with *Don Quixote* but his assumption that readers have sufficient familiarity to amplify, on occasion, allusions to characters, events, situations or even a character's feelings about a particular situation—allusions that are almost cryptic in their pithiness.

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8. See also VIII, 287.

THE FOUNDING DATE OF THE REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA

By EDWARD DAVIS TERRY

IT IS COMMONLY stated in the manuals on Spanish literature that the founding date of the *Real Academia Española* is 1714, although occasionally the date 1713 is given.¹ Evidently the date that ought to be considered as the date of foundation of the Spanish Academy has caused little concern, or else few have bothered to make further investigation. Nevertheless, it might be of interest to consider this point briefly.

First we should see what the Spanish Academy itself gives as its founding date. In the famous and still authoritative *Diccionario de Autoridades* we find this statement: "Tuvo principio la Academia Española en el mes de Junio del año de 1713."² Since there is no agreement on this point, we shall have to examine more carefully the details surrounding the early months of this new academy in order to determine the date which can most logically be considered as the founding date.

Juan Manuel F. Pacheco, Marqués de Villena, Duque de Escalona, etc., soon became alarmed over the decadence of Spanish letters after his return to Spain in 1711 from the wars in Italy. Pacheco was a learned man himself, the possessor of a fine library, and had always been inclined to associate with scholars. It is not surprising, then, that he was dismayed at the low state of Spanish letters and at the predominance of the French influence in everything cultural as a result of the ascent of Philip

1. Two manuals are more precise on discussing this point: Mérimée and Morley, *A History of Spanish Literature* (New York, 1930); and J. Hurtado and A. González-Palencia, *Historia de la literatura española*, 6th ed. (Madrid, 1949). The former says on page 412 that "on August 3, 1713, the Spanish Academy held its first session. . . . The Academy received official sanction October 3, 1714." The latter differs from other authorities: "El 6 de julio de 1713 tuvo lugar la primera Junta, y el 13 de mayo de 1714 sancionó el Rey la fundación de este Cuerpo . . ." (p. 697). It seems that July 6 was chosen because the informal gathering began to meet weekly on that date. Apparently May 13 is a typographical error for May 23.

2. Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, I (Madrid, 1726), ix.

V, grandson of Louis XIV, to the throne of Spain. Therefore Pacheco asked Philip for permission to form an academy of the language in order to guard its purity. The king verbally granted this request, and almost immediately Pacheco began to hold informal literary *tertulias* in his library. In June 1713 the following seven men met with him:

- Dr. Juan de Ferreras, curate of the Parroquia de San Andrés and later chief librarian of the king;
- Gabriel Alvarez de Toledo y Pellicer (died on January 17, 1714), chief librarian of the Royal Library;
- Andrés González de Barcia, member of the king's Supreme Council of War;
- Padre Juan Interián de Ayala, professor of Hebrew in Salamanca;
- Padre Bartolomé Alcázar, a Jesuit and professor of grammar and rhetoric in the *Colegio Imperial*;
- Padre José Casani, a Jesuit and censor of the Supreme Council of the Inquisition;
- Antonio Dongo Barnuevo, royal librarian and formerly *corregidor* of Iniesta.

These men met in the home of the Marqués de Villena without observing any formalities. They dealt with whatever subject that came up in the conversation, but they always came back to the idea that an academy should be formed and that its principal objective would be to compile a dictionary of the language (*Autoridades*, I, x). This idea was shared by all present, but no formal organization existed to do anything about it. Thus the group agreed to meet one day a week (Thursdays) to discuss ways of getting their project started. They met weekly in July and decided that others were needed to help them in this monumental task of making a dictionary. Francisco Pizarro y Piccolomini, Marqués de San Juan, began attending the gatherings on July 13, and José de Solís y Gante, Marqués de Castelnovo, joined the group on July 20. (Solís y Gante is famous in the history of the Spanish Academy as the creator of the emblem that it displays today: a crucible in fire with the motto *Limpia, fija y da esplendor*.)³

3. E. Cotarelo y Mori, "La fundación de la Academia Española y su primer director, don Juan Manuel F. Pacheco, Marqués de Villena," *Boletín de la Academia Española*, I (1914), 28.

Several considerations caused the literati to feel that the compilation of a dictionary was of prime and urgent necessity, but the principal one apparently was national pride. The first dictionary of a vulgar tongue was published in 1611, the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* by Sebastián de Covarrubias. However, the Spaniards had not followed up his lexicographical work, and now Pacheco and his associates found Spain in the embarrassing position of having been excelled by France, Italy, England, and Portugal in dictionaries of the language. Thus it was decided by the group that a dictionary "abundante de voces, autorizadas con exemplos de los mejores Autores, claro en la explicación, fácil en el uso y que supliesse lo que en Covarrubias faltasse" should be composed (*Autoridades*, I, xii).

Several difficulties impeded the labors of this informal organization. The meetings were not held with due order, principally because the group had no head to resolve disputes and doubts. Nor did it have a secretary to keep the records of its proceedings. Consequently, in the meeting of August 3, 1713, Juan Pacheco was chosen by acclamation as director and president. Vicencio Squarzafigo Centurión y Arriola, who was attending for the first time, was elected secretary. These eleven men who gathered in the home of Pacheco on August 3, 1713, are considered by the Spanish Academy as its founders, and this same meeting was the first of which the proceedings were recorded in the "libro de acuerdos" (*Autoridades*, I, x).

By the election of officers the group believed that it could constitute formally the Spanish Academy, and the incipient academy actively began its primary task (forming a dictionary) in the meeting of August 3 (Cotarelo, p. 29). As a beginning for this enormous undertaking, the new director of the Spanish Academy presented a list of 110 authors from whom the words for the new dictionary could be chosen. (This list was later greatly expanded.) It is interesting to note that Cervantes is cited as a prose writer and a poet and that among the dramatists Lope and Calderón are mentioned but Tirso and Ruiz de Alarcón are not. In order to carry out their work more systematically, Andrés González de Barcia was appointed to formulate a plan for the making of the dictionary.

Still, the members felt that more definite license from the king was needed because the approval already expressed by him

was merely oral. Hence the communication in which Pacheco petitioned the king to approve their literary academy in writing was drawn up in this meeting on August 3. On November 3, 1713, the king notified Pacheco that he would be pleased to grant the academy his royal protection but that he would like to see the statutes and by-laws before issuing the orders (*Autoridades*, I, xiv). The request of the king was easily complied with, and the statutes, the emblem, and a short description of the academy as conceived by its members was forwarded to the king. This wish having been carried out, work on the dictionary continued.

On May 23, 1714, the Spanish Academy was notified that the king had approved fully its statutes and emblem (*Autoridades*, I, xx). The letter stated that the cedula of confirmation would be issued by the Council of Castile. After more delay, this cedula was finally sent to the academy on October 3, 1714 (*Autoridades*, I, xxii). The issuance of the royal cedula was the official recognition of the Spanish Academy. When the cedula was received, the officers resigned but were immediately re-elected. Consequently, the continuity of the administration which had begun on August 3, 1713, was not interrupted by the formal sanctioning of the academy.

In conclusion we can easily see that there are several dates that could be considered as the founding date of the Spanish Academy but that two are more strongly supported by circumstances than the others. Obviously the date June 1713 as given by the *Diccionario de Autoridades* must be discarded because no organized group existed at that time. The academy was in an embryonic stage. And if we are to be very restrictive in our definition of "founding" without considering all the facts, October 3, 1714, could be accepted as the academy's date of foundation as well as its date of formal recognition. But another point to keep in mind is that Gabriel Alvarez de Toledo, whom the Spanish Academy lists among its founders, died on January 17, 1714. The placing of him among the founders would seemingly preclude the date October 3, 1714, from consideration as the founding date. Otherwise, another term than "founder" would have to be applied to Alvarez de Toledo.

The facts as briefly presented here show that the Spanish Academy started to function as a formal organization and began its principal task (that of compiling a dictionary) in its meeting

of August 3, 1713. Thus, the date August 3, 1713, marks the *de facto* inception of the *Real Academia Española* (as suggested by Mérimée and Morley and as borne out by the circumstances), and this is the date that we should like to designate as the true founding date.

SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY

DRAMATIC PORTRAITS OF MOLIERE

By OLDRICH KADLEC

THE AIM OF the following is to present a review of dramatic productions which had Molière as their subject, or in which Molière appeared as one of the principal characters. Such plays are of two distinct types. In the first category are plays which deal with the life and work of the great comedian in a realistic setting, that is to say in the world of the living. The second type consists of plays whose plot evolved only on the basis of an imagined life of Molière in the world of the spirits, a world usually associated with the legendary Elysian Fields.

The latter plays are allegorical apotheoses without any biographical interest and were written to honor the memory of Molière on various appropriate occasions. The first of these plays of distinctly allegorical nature was composed shortly after Molière's death in February 1673 by a former member of his troupe, George Brécourt. It was entitled *L'Ombre de Molière* and staged by the players of the Hôtel de Bourgogne. This troupe which was at the time engaged in a cut-throat competition with Molière's own theater of the Palais Royal thus made a very noble gesture in paying homage, through Brécourt's play, to the genius of Molière. Brécourt's play not only anticipates most of the later attempts of this type to dramatize the didactic values of Molière's work, but surpasses them all in the witticism of its fast flowing dialogue.

The next play of which any record was found appeared twenty years later when abbé de Bordelon published an allegorical comedy, *Molière, comédien aux Champs-Élysées*. In this play Molière was presented in the costume of Scapin, one of his own famous characters, who was then regarded as the incarnation of Molière's theatrical genius. The comedy had successful performances in 1694 and 1695.

During the eighteenth century we find thirteen dramatic apotheoses in honor of Molière. In most of them, Molière appears in the company of such allegorical characters as Melpomene and Thalia, and is depicted as a preceptor giving lessons in dramatic art to contemporary playwrights. During the nineteenth century

Molière's imaginary postmortal life was the subject of fourteen plays of this type. These dramatizations, twenty-nine in all, are only the less significant part of the cult of Molière expressed through the medium of the theater in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹

The other and more significant part of this cult are the portrait-plays which were composed with the intention to depict, as realistically as convention and the legend of Molière would allow, the man in his daily turbulent life. Leaving aside the well-known portrait which Molière had drawn of himself in *L'Impromptu de Versailles* (1663), one can say that this category of dramatic portrayals of Molière by French and foreign playwrights had its beginning in 1670 when the Théâtre du Marais

1. The following is a chronological listing of plays about Molière in which he does not appear as a living person: George Brécourt, *L'Ombre de Molière* (Paris, 1674 and reprinted by the Librairie de Bibliophiles in 1880), Abbé de Bordelon, *Molière, comédien aux Champs-Élysées* (Lyon: Ant. Briasson, 1694); Abbé de Voisenon, *L'Ombre de Molière* (Amsterdam, 1739); Abbé de Voisenon, *Le Retour de l'Ombre de Molière* (Paris: Prault, 1739); F.-A. Quétant, *L'Ecolier devenu Maître* (Paris: Cailleau, 1760); A.-F. Artaud, *La Centenaire de Molière* (Paris: Duchesne, 1773); Abbé de Schosne, *L'Assemblée* (Paris: L. Cellot, 1773); Abbé de Schosne, *L'Apothéose de Molière* (Bordeaux: Calamy, 1773); Chevalier du Coudray, *L'Ombre de Colardeau aux Champs-Élysées* (Paris: Lejay, 1776); Barthélemi Imbert, *L'Inauguration du Théâtre-François* (Paris: Desenne, 1782); Carrière-Doisin, *Les Séances de Melpomène et de Thalie* (Paris: Esprit, 1779); J.-F. La Harpe, *Molière à la nouvelle Salle* (Paris: Lambert et Baudoin, 1782); Anonym., *Le Temple de Thalie* (found on pp. 157-181, being the only available fragment of a collection publ. around 1788; cf. P. Lacroix, *Bibliographie Moliéresque*, p. 278); Anonym., *Le Souper magique* (not publ. but staged at the Théâtre Français in 1790); François de Coupigny, *Hommage du Petit Vaudeville, au Grand Racine* (Paris: Pougens, 1798); Merle et Desessarts, *A bas Molière* (Paris: Barba, 1809); Eugène Moreau, *Scène, ajoutée au Boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle, pour l'anniversaire de Molière* (Paris: Fages, 1821); François Dercy, *Molière* (Paris: n.n., 1828); Violet d'Epagny, *L'Anniversaire de la naissance de Molière* (*Courrier des Théâtres*, January, 1832, nos. 17-21); Ferdinand de la Boullaye, *Molière au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Marchant, 1844); J.-B. d'Epagny, *A propos de la naissance de Molière* (Paris: Breteau, 1842); Joseph Méry, *Le Quinze Janvier* (Paris: Roux, 1847); P.-J. Barbier, *L'Ombre de Molière* (Paris: Furne, 1847); Hippolyte Minier, *Le Songe de Molière* (Bordeaux: Fereï, 1857); Henri de Bornier, *Le Quinze Janvier* (Paris: Masgana, 1860); Alexis Martin, *La Fête de Molière* (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1860); Adolphe Carcassonne, *La Fête de Molière* (Marseille: Balatier, 1865); Albert Glatigny, *Le Complément à Molière* (Paris: Lemerre, 1872); Jean Aicard, *Mascarille* (Paris, 1873).

staged a one-act comedy, *L'Abjuration du Marquisat*. According to a brief remark in the *Bibliographie Molièresque* by P. Lacroix, this play presented Molière in a very unfavorable light and was written by an enemy of his, Le Boulanger de Chalussay.² Molière himself felt insulted and used his influence to prevent this comedy from being further performed and published. It was not until the eighteenth century that he became again the subject of a portrait-play.

In 1751 appeared an Italian comedy, *Il Moliere*, by Carlo Goldoni. It was first produced in Turin and presented an excellent study of Molière's character. The author took his plot material from Grimarest's biography of Molière which was published in 1705 under the title *La Vie de M. de Molière*. In 1754 another Italian, Pietro Chiari, produced in Bologna a play entitled *Moliere marito geloso* which was subsequently staged at the Comédie Italienne in Paris. In 1776 appeared Louis Sébastien Mercier's *Molière*, a typical French portrait-play with a number of vivid scenes which showed Molière facing the attacks against his comedies and the perplexities of his life. During the remaining years of the eighteenth century Molière's life was the subject of nine more plays, of which five were published.³

The most interesting of the published plays was a new version of Mercier's *Molière*, which was staged at the Théâtre Français in 1787 under the title *La Maison de Molière, ou la Journée de Tartuffe*. Its première, which took place on October 20, lasted over six hours. The reason for its unusual length was that Mercier interposed between the third and the fourth acts of his new play the five acts of Molière's *Tartuffe*. He thus used the famous comedy of Molière as an "inner play" within his own dramati-

2. Paul Lacroix, *Bibliographie Molièresque* (Paris: Fontaine, 1875), p. 226.

3. Pellet-Desbarreau, *Molière à Toulouse* (Toulouse: Brouhiet, 1787); L.-S. Mercier, *La Maison de Molière* (Paris: Guillot, 1788); Marie-Olympe de Gouges, *Molière chez Ninon* (Paris: Cailleau, 1788); Michel Cubières-Palmezeaux, *La Mort de Molière* (Paris: Knapen, 1788); F.-J. Willemain d'Abancourt, *La Convalescence de Molière* (not publ. but staged at the Théâtre de la Société Olympique, 1788); Anonym., *La Matinée de Molière* (n.p., at the Théâtre de M. Comte, 1789); Louis Cadet-Gassicourt, *Le Souper de Molière* (Paris: n.p., 1795); Anonym., *La Servante de Molière* (n.p., at the Théâtre de la Gaîté, 1799); J.-M. Deschamps, *Molière à Lyon* (n.p., at the Théâtre du Vaudeville, 1799).

zation of Molière. This was, however, a rather coarse application of a dramatic technique which he had previously used with much more subtlety.⁴ The interpolation of *Tartuffe* into the primary action of *La Maison de Molière* was motivated by the last scene of the third act of Mercier's play, in which Molière and several actors of his troupe are shown leaving his house for the theater of the Palais Royal to give the first public performance of the long contested *Tartuffe, ou L'Imposteur*. At this point, when the curtain went up after an intermission, the spectators saw the whole performance of Molière's *Tartuffe*—supposedly that memorable performance of February 5, 1669—presented as acts four through eight of Mercier's play. In the ninth act, they saw Molière back at his house and thus the total play gave them the double illusion of having seen him offstage as well as onstage. One is not surprised to learn from a contemporary commentator that this particular production of *La Maison de Molière* had been too much of a strain for the actors and the spectators, and that the interpolation of *Tartuffe* was not repeated in subsequent presentations.⁵

During the first half of the nineteenth century, plays about Molière continued to have appeal for an ever increasing number of theatergoers. During the first two decades of the century the portraits of Molière became a vogue. In 1815, almost every Parisian theater had in its repertory a play in which Molière appeared as one of the characters.⁶ But many of the new portraits were of inferior quality, which prompted the critic J.-L. Geoffroy to write in one of his feuilletons in the *Journal des Débats*: "... Molière est partout; il n'y a que son bon sens et son génie qui ne se trouve nulle part."⁷ The portraits introduced in the second quarter of the century are considerably better; they are influenced by Romanticism and frequently reveal a vague melancholy, a somberness, and a pessimistic note. These traits struck very responsive chords in the contemporary generation of spec-

4. Various aspects of this technique have been studied in Robert J. Nelson's *Play within a Play* (Yale University Press, 1958).

5. *Journal de Paris*, October 21, 1787.

6. Cf. *Almanach des spectacles de Paris* (Paris: Duchesne, 1800-1815).

7. Reprinted in the *Cours de littérature dramatique, ou Recueil par ordre de matières des feuilletons de Geoffroy* (Paris: Blanchard, 1819-1820), III, 447.

tators. To this period belongs also a German play, Karl Gutzkow's *Das Urbild des Tartuffe*, which appeared in 1844.

After the middle of the century the emphasis on the melancholic traits of Molière's character was replaced by those which underlined his realistic attitude toward life. Among the thirteen new plays about Molière which were staged during the second half of the nineteenth century were one written by George Sand and one by Alexandre Dumas.⁸ George Sand's five-act drama

8. The following is a chronological list of the nineteenth-century plays in which Molière appears as a living person: Augustin Creuzé, *Ninon de L'Enclos* (Paris: Imp. rue des Droits-de-l'Homme, 1800); A.-F. Rigaud, *Molière avec ses amis* (Paris: Fages, 1801); Anonym., *Molière jaloux* (n.p. Théâtre de la Cité, 1801); Michel Cubières-Palmezeaux, *La Mort de Molière* (Paris: Hugelot, 1802); Anonym., *La Jalousie de Molière* (n.p. Théâtre Mareux, 1802); Augustin Chazet, *Molière chez Ninon* (Paris: Girard, 1802); P.-Y. Barré, *La Chambre de Molière* (n.p. Théâtre du Vaudeville, 1803); J.-S. Andrieux, *Molière avec ses amis* (Paris: Huet, 1804); François Desfontaines, *Le Voyage de Chambord* (Paris: Fages, 1808); Henri Simon, *Ninon, Molière et Tartuffe* (Paris: Barba, 1815); Marion Dumersan, *L'Original de Pourceaugnac* (Paris: Barba, 1816); Eugène de Pradel, *Un Trait de Molière* (Paris: Ladvocat, 1821); Justin Gensoul, *Le Menage de Molière* (Paris: Huet, 1822); Alfred Bayard, *Molière au théâtre* (Paris: Brière, 1824); Joseph-Isidore Samson, *La Fête de Molière* (Paris: Barba, 1825); Bruleboeuf-Letournant, *Racine chez Corneille* (Paris: Delaforest, 1825); François Garnier, *Le Mariage de Molière* (Paris: Barba, 1828); Eugène de Pradel, *Molière et Mignard à Avignon* (Avignon: Offray, 1829); Ludovic [pseud.], *Une Page de la vie d'un grand homme* (Nantes: Pouillet, 1829); Pierre Roger, *Baron chez Molière* (n.p. Théâtre de Bruxelles, 1829); Charles Dupeuty, *La Vie de Molière* (Paris: Bézou, 1832); Anonym., *Molière* (n.p. Théâtre de Molière, 1832); Camille Mellinet, *Souvenirs du pays, Molière à Nantes* (Nantes: Imprimerie de Mellinet, 1838); Théodore Pernot, *Un Amour de Molière* (Paris: Marchant, 1838); F. Alphonse [Dercy], *Molière et son Tartuffe* (Paris: Ledoyen, 1839); Charles Desnoyer, *La Vie d'un Comédien* (Paris: Tresse, 1842); August Desportes, *Molière à Chambord* (Paris: Tresse, 1843); Adolphe Dumas, *Mademoiselle de la Vallière* (Paris: Tresse, 1843); Lesguillon, *La Protège de Molière* (Paris: Tresse, 1848); George Sand, *Le Roi attend* (1848) and *Molière* (1851) both publ. in the author's *Théâtre complet* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1877), I; Pierre Ponsard, *Molière à Vienne* publ. in *Matinées italiennes, revue littéraire* (Florence, 1870), V; Edouard Vienne, *Molière enfant* (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1855); Abel Jannet, *Molière en ménage* (Angoulême: d'Ardant, 1856); Marcel-Briol, *Molière à Nantes* (Nantes: Courmaceul, 1863); Edouard Fournier, *La Fille de Molière* (Paris: Dentu, 1863); Hippolyte Minier, *Molière à Bordeaux* (Bordeaux: Gounouilhoul, 1865); Alphonse Pagès, *Molière à Pézenas* (Paris: Dentu, 1866); Edouard Fournier, *La Valse de Molière* (Paris: Dentu, 1868); Xavier Aubryet, *Le Docteur Molière* (Paris: Dentu,

Molière was first staged in 1851. It was subsequently translated into several languages. Dumas' portrait of Molière appeared in 1856 in a five-act play entitled *La Jeunesse de Louis XIV*, which was later retouched by Alexandre Dumas fils, who introduced it into the repertory of the Théâtre de l'Odéon in 1874. In more recent years, only two dramatizations of Molière's life can be reported: Maurice Charles Donnay's *Le Ménagement de Molière*, which had its première at the Comédie Française on March 11, 1912, and François Denoeu's *Molière et ses Amis*, first staged at The Little Theater of Dartmouth College on April 24, 1937.

It is reasonable to assume that since the first dramatic portrait of Molière, almost two hundred years ago, even more portrayals of his character have been drawn than those of which we have been able to find reliable records. Furthermore, if one were to gauge the frequency of presentations of the portraits of Molière only by our listing of the first performances, one would have no idea of the immense popularity these portraits actually enjoyed, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century. Many of them had several revivals, not only in Paris but also in the provinces. As an example can be mentioned *La Mort de Molière* by Michel Cubières-Palmezeaux, which had its première at the Théâtre Français in 1789, was staged several times during the following three years at Valenciennes and at Reims, and had a Parisian revival in 1796 at the Théâtre de Molière, and another in 1802 at the Théâtre des Jeunes Elèves. Actors whose names are prominent in the annals of the French stage—Fleury and Molé, to mention only two—considered it a great honor to play the part of Molière and to "revivre l'original," as they were wont to say. For the spectators who were well-versed in literature, the enjoyment of the plays portraying Molière was frequently enhanced by the introduction of other literary characters who were Molière's contemporaries, such as Corneille, Boileau, La Fontaine, and Racine. It is particularly in these plays depicting Molière in the company of his literary friends that one finds a most engaging frankness of dialogue and a remarkable nicety of portrayal.

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1873); J.-B. Pinchon, *La Mort de Molière* (Paris: Tresse, 1873); Alexandre Dumas père, *La Jeunesse de Louis XIV* (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1874); L. A. de Lasso, *La Saint-Jean* (Paris: Ollendorf, 1894).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN IMAGE IN THE WORK OF D'AUBIGNÉ

By ALBERT SONNENFELD

AGRIPPA D'AUBIGNÉ'S CHARACTERISTIC images of violence are a direct result of his life of military action with the Huguenot armies. Even his earliest love poetry, written in the tradition of Ronsard and the French Petrarchists, contains images of battle, of death and decay.¹ The poet begged Diane de Salviati to forgive the violence of his lyric offering in the *Hécatombe à Diane*: "Car depuis qu'en aimant je souffre, / Il faut qu'ils [ses vers] sentent comme moy / La poudre, la mesche et le souffre."² Though the *Hécatombe à Diane* is an uneven volume, containing many imitations of Ronsard as well as violent metaphors of dubious taste in the evocation of the *Tauromachie*, it is invaluable for an understanding of d'Aubigné's poetic art in *Les Tragiques*. Many of the complex tableaux of war and destruction in d'Aubigné's great epic are expanded versions of metaphors found in the *Hécatombe à Diane*. Here is an example:

- 1 Je vis un jour un soldat terrassé,
Blessé à mort de la main ennemie,
Avecq' le sang, l'âme rouge ravie
Se débattoit dans le sein transpercé.
5 De mille mortz ce perissant pressé
Grinçoit les dentz en l'extreme agonie,
Nous prioit tous de luy haster la vie:
Mort et non mort, vif non vif fust laissé.
"Ha, di-je alors, pareille est ma blesseure,
10 Ainsi qu'à luy ma mort est toute seure,
Et la beauté qui me contrainst mourir
Voit bien comment je languy à sa veue,
Ne voulant pas tuer ceux qu'elle tue,
Ny par la mort un mourant secourir."³

1. See for detailed listings, Marcel Raymond, *Génies de France* (Neuchâtel, 1942), pp. 80-87; M. Raymond, *Baroque et Renaissance poétique* (Paris, 1955), p. 60; I. Buffum, *Agrippa d'Aubigné's 'Les Tragiques'* (New Haven, 1951), pp. 28-44.

2. *Le Printemps: L'Hécatombe à Diane*, ed. B. Gagnebin (Lille et Genève, 1948), p. 20.

3. *Hécatombe*, p. 31.

In this fourteenth sonnet from the *Hécatombe*, the two quatrains are clearly a description of a personal experience: "je vis un jour." As in d'Aubigné's later poems, violence *per se* was his primary interest. There is force in the realism of the scene, in the almost physical struggle between blood and the equally bloody soul, in the soldier's pathetic plight—"mort et non mort, vif non vif . . ." The pain of the death agony is conveyed by a series of powerful alliterations on *r* (lines 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8), reaching their high point in "rouge ravie" and "périssant pressé." The soldier's plea that he be spared further suffering is entirely convincing. On the other hand, the completion of the simile is weak. As he stands on the battlefield, the poet suddenly realizes: "Ha, di-je allors, pareille est ma blesseure." The two tercets, with their playful paradox (line 13) and the conventional "je languy à sa veue," all but destroy the poem's impact.

In *Les Tragiques*, where war itself was the poet's primary theme, the image of the wounded soldier is developed and strengthened:

- 1 . . . mes yeux sont tesmoins du sujet de mes vers.
J'ai vu le reistre noir foudroyer au travers
Les mesures de France, & comme une tempeste,
Emporter ce qu'il peut, ravager tout le reste;
5 Cet amas affamé nous fit à Mont-Moreau
Voir la nouvelle horreur d'un spectacle nouveau.
Nous vinsmes sur leurs pas, une troupe lassee
Que la terre portoit, de nos pas harassee.
La de mille maisons on ne trouva que feux,
10 Que charongnes, que morts ou visages affreux.
La faim va devant moi, force est que je la suive.
J'oy d'un gosier mourant une voix demi-vive:
Le cri me sert de guide, & fait voir à l'instant
D'un homme demi-mort le chef se débattant,
15 Qui sur le seuil d'un huis dissipoit sa cervelle.
Ce demi-vif la mort à son secours appelle
De sa mourante voix, cet esprit demi-mort
Disoit en son patois (langue de Perigort):
".
"Faictes-moi d'un bon coup & promptement mourir."²⁴

Here, as in the *Hécatombe*, d'Aubigné stresses that this is not just

4. *Les Tragiques*, ed. Garnier et Plattard (Paris, 1932), Bk. I, lines 371-389 and line 393. The vagaries of d'Aubigné's spelling have been retained.

a poetic image, but something he has actually seen. Instead of the rather casual "je vis un jour un soldat . . .," he now implies that while the horror of the scene may seem unbelievable, it is true: "mes yeux sont tesmoins . . ." From the earlier love poem, d'Aubigné has created a vast panorama as a background to the agony of a single wounded soldier. There are a thousand burning houses, countless cadavers and tortured faces. The black knight becomes a mythic symbol of horror and fear, striking like a storm; a whole army is encompassed in the image. The sweeping flames foreshadow the Apocalyptic vision of d'Aubigné's treatment of the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre. After this general view of the battlefield, the poet "focusses" on the lonely dying soldier. D'Aubigné seems to be walking around the battlefield when he suddenly hears an agonizing scream, prompting him to the side of the soldier. The dying man's dehumanized state is conveyed by the repeated use of "demi" (lines 12, 14, 16, 17) and by "gosier." "Dissiper" retains its strong, physical meaning. The incidental detail of the soldier's speaking in the patois of the Périgord adds to the realism. In the earlier poem, the soldier's plea for a merciful death was merely related ("Il nous prioit de luy haster la vie"); here the situation is dramatized, the soldier himself speaks, and in popular terms.

This example is but one among many which could be used to trace d'Aubigné's development as a poet. His original military experiences, which lasted until his marriage to Suzanne de Lezay in 1583, provided him with his basic repertoire of imagery; his skill as a poet and the breadth of his vision transformed the metaphor of love as battle into the vast tableau of destruction in *Les Tragiques*.

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ANTOINE DE LA SALLE AND GRIMM NUMBER 109
By FRANCIS VERY

READERS OF THE *Märchen* collected by the Brothers Grimm may recall tale number 109—*Das Totenhemdchen* ("The Shroud"): the tale of the dead child who appears in a vision to his sorrowing mother, complaining that he cannot rest quietly in his grave as his shroud is wet with her tears. When she ceases her constant weeping over his grave, and prays instead for his salvation, he appears again and tells her that his shroud is dry and that he can at last rest quietly.¹

The purpose of this brief note is to examine the use of the motif (number E361 in Thompson, *Motif-Index*) in a work by Antoine de la Salle (1388-ca. 1470), and to present two medieval Latin texts which may have served him as a source, together with several French folk beliefs which also may have exerted some influence in this case.

In a letter which la Salle wrote about 1458 to Catherine de Neufville (wife of Jacques de Lille, seigneur de Fresne), consoling her on the loss of her first-born son, the motif is employed as follows. A certain woman loved her small son exceedingly. He died, whereupon she wept day and night. At length the child appeared to her in a vision, in the company of a band of young people all rejoicing on their way to Paradise. Her son, however, was at the very end of the procession. When the mother asked him the reason, he made answer:

Ha, ma mère, c'est tout par vous. —Par moy,
dist-elle, hellas! pourquoi? Ma mère, dist-il,
et je le vous diray: P'effusion des larmes que
pour moy avez tant gettees me ont zinssy baignié
ma robe par derriere, que me pose tant que je ne

1. *Grimm's Fairy Tales, Complete Ed.*, (based on a trans. by Margaret Hunt, revised by James Stern [New York, 1944], p. 502). See Bolte-Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, II (Leipzig, 1915), under #109 for exhaustive critical notes. I have not been able to discover any Spanish version of this motif; the reference in Thompson under E 324 to the *Motif-Index of Spanish Exempla* of J. E. Keller (Knoxville, Tennessee, 1949) seems to be erroneous, as Keller provides no entry for this motif—"Friendly return of dead. Frequently to stop weeping."

la puis porter, dont par ainssy me convient
derrière et sy longs aller. Ma mère, se voz
larmes se adreschoient doucement et par vrayes
oroisons à Nostre Seigneur, je seroye bien tost
en vraye salvacion.

The afflicted mother ceases her weeping and instead prays for the soul of her child, whereupon he again visits her and tells her that he has been saved by her prayers.²

In the homiletic *Bonum universale de Apibus* (ca. 1260) of the Dominican, Thomas of Cantimpré (1200-1270), the motif appears in the following manner. The child replies to his mother's question as to why he is last in the heavenly cortège:

Cui ille, in toga laterali magnum aquae pondus ostendens: 'Ecce, inquit, mater, lacrimae, quas pro me inaniter effudisti, quarum ponder ab iliorum prosecutione retardor. Ad Deum ergo lacrimas commutabis, et in praesentia sacrificii corporis Christi cum eleemosynis pauperum pro me cor pium et devotum effundas, et tunc liberabor ab incommodo, quo nunc gravor.'³

The second Latin text is from the *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Varagine (died ca. 1298). In the section dedicated to the feast of St. John the Almoner (23 January), we see the possible influence of an earlier Greek life of the saint; he cannot rest in his grave because of the lamentations of several devout women at his tomb. He appears to them, in the company of two other bishops:

Ecce beatus Johannes in habitu pontificali de tumulo processit, duobus episcopis, qui secum quiescebant, hinc indole vallatus, dixitque mulieri: 'Cur nos tantum infestas et me et sanctos istos, qui mecum sunt, quiescere non permittis? Ecce stolae nostrae lacrimis tuis omnes inadefactae sunt'.⁴

3. Lib. II, cap. 53:xvii. I quote from the (Latin) dissertation of Elie Berger, *Thomae Cantimpræ Bonum universale de Apibus* (Paris, 1895), p. 3. The ed. of W. van der Vet, *Het Biënboec van T. van C.* (? , 1902), has not been accessible to me.

2. *Du Réconfort de Madame de Fresne* (ed. Joseph Neve [Paris, 1903]), pp. 104-105.

4. Ed. Th. Grässe (Breslau, 1890). The Greek Life of St. John by Leontius (written sometime after 641) may be read in the trans. of Elizabeth Dawes-Norman Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford, 1948); the episode in question on pp. 259-260. The original Greek may be seen in *Analecta Bol-*

We can observe an important difference in the legend as presented in the four texts: no mention is made of a heavenly procession in the versions of Grimm and Jacobus de Varagine—which latter version, as we have remarked, shows the influence of a Greek life of the Patriarch of Alexandria; we might claim that such is the original form. Thomas of Cantimpré and la Salle may have fused this version with several Breton folk-tales to obtain the motif of the cortège of the dead children. It is not impossible that la Salle may have heard these tales while acting as secretary to Louis of Luxembourg, Count of St. Pol-sur-Ternois in the Pas-de-Calais, whose service la Salle entered in 1448. According to a tradition collected by P. Sébillot, on the Vigil of All Souls a procession of the dead would pass through the air in the region of Noirmoutier in Normandy. The mother who had wept excessively for a dead child would see it at the end of the procession, carrying a large pail (*cruche*) full of the tears which the mother had shed, the weight of which prevented the infant from keeping up with the others.⁵ Anatole le Braz records the legend of *La jeune fille de Coray* (collected at Quimper); we have here a version in which a daughter weeps too much for her dead mother, who brings up the rear of the procession, carrying not one but *two* such *cruches* filled with tears, her face “presque noir de colère”.⁶

Iandiana XLV (1927). Cf. AASS (ed. Paris, 1863), January, pars tertius, 130b: “Ecce egreditur Dei famulus de tumulo suo, oculatim apparens cum duobus Episcopis, qui cum eo jacebant . . . et dixit ad eam: ‘Usquequo mulier hos qui hic sunt, commoves, et non dimmittis eos quiescere? Infunderunt enim stolas nostras lacrymae tuae’ ”.

5. *Le Folklore de la France* II (1905), p. 102. A similar tradition existed—at least until 1830—at Clamecy (*Rev. des trad. pop.*, XIV, 91-92). For a Canadian version see Sébillot, *op. cit.*, IV (1907), p. 177. La Salle was from Arles; I have encountered no trace of this superstition in So. France.

6. *La légende de la mort chez les Bretons amoricains* (Paris, 1922), II, 99-103. Several German versions are known, apart from Grimm; in one the mother sees her daughter naked in a procession of beautifully dressed youth. Reproaching the mother, the daughter says that her tears have spoiled her garments: “Alle übrigen Seelen sind freudig gestimmt und schön gekleidet, während ich von Euren Tränen ganz nass bin” (Hans Bächtold-Stäubli, *Handw. des deutschen Aberglaubens* [Berlin, 1929-30], II, col. 831a). Bolte and Mackensen observe (*Handw. des deutschen Märchens* [Berlin, 1930-33], I, col. 433a), under Thompson no. E 361, “Als Märchenmotif im strengea

Antoine de la Salle may have derived the central idea from the *Legenda aurea*, a work which he most certainly knew, a work whose popularity lasted well beyond his time; the secondary theme, that of the procession of dead children, may have been suggested to him either by Thomas of Cantimpré, or by the reservoir of oral tradition. However it may be, the effective use which la Salle made of his sources is well summarized by Jan Huizinga:

And here suddenly from this simple story—
not of his own invention—there arises a
poetical tenderness and beneficent wisdom,
which we look for in vain in the
thousands of voices repeating in various
tones the awful *memento mori*.⁷

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Sinne kann es in dessen nicht angesprochen werden". The whole matter is without doubt related to the general motif of the Procession of the Dead-Wild Hunt theme.

7. *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London, 1924; reprinted 1952), p. 135.

DANTE: A MEDIEVAL POET'S IDEAL

By DOROTHY CLOTELLE CIARKE

LITERARY HISTORY AND criticism in Castilian had its beginnings in the first half of the fifteenth century with Enrique de Villena, Alfonso de Baena, and the Marqués de Santillana. For literary *appreciation* in the same period, however, one might search in vain were it not for the *Decir a las siete virtudes*.¹ Indeed, seldom has any period yielded a work in which one poet so unreservedly idealizes another and so ingenuously confesses his indebtedness to another as does the author of this early fifteenth century allegory. So dear was the *Divine Comedy* to the author of the *Decir* that there is hardly a passage in the latter that does not to some degree recall some expression in the former.² The Spanish poet made no attempt to conceal his imitation. Imitation in his day was not a shameful thing. Had not Dante acknowledged a similar debt to Virgil?—

'O degli altri poeti onore e lume,
Vagliami il lungo studio e il grande amore,
Che m' ha fatto cercar lo tuo volume!
Tu se' lo mio maestro e il mio autore:
Tu se' solo colui, da cui io tolsi
Lo bello stile che m' ha fatto onore.³

The *Decir*, however, is not a mere imitation of the Italian masterpiece, but a tribute to, and an idealization of, its author. In our poet's conception author and work are fused and inseparable and therefore must be appreciated together. The noteworthy thing is that the tribute is completely indirect and therefore seems to be merely incidental. It is presented, perhaps subconsciously, through constant imitation of verbal expression, con-

1. "Desir de miçer fr^o alas sycte Virtudes," *Cancionero de Baena*, facs. ed., N. Y. (1926), fol 81v-84; ed. Eugenio de Ochoa and P. J. Pidal, *El Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena*, Madrid (1851), No. 250. For modern editions see Archer Woodford, "Edición crítica del *Desir a las syete virtudes* de Francisco Imperial," *NRFH*, VIII (1954), 268-294.

2. For probable source of many of the Spanish lines, see notes to Woodford's edition (*op. cit.*) of the *Decir*.

3. *Inferno* I, 82-87, C. H. Grandgent, ed. *Divine Comedy*, Boston, etc. (1913).

sciously through praise and through a physical description of the mentor and the creation of his human personality.

It has naturally been assumed that in the *Decir a las siete virtudes* the poet's commentator-guide through his dream was Dante. However, although the reference to *En medio del camino* and to the languages spoken by the poet-guide, as well as the frequent borrowing of expression, are strong arguments in favor of the assumption, it should be remembered that the poem does not actually name the guide, strangely enough, and, as far as I can find, Dante is not even mentioned by name in the poem unless by some highly improbable chance the *andāte*,⁴ in the last line but one of the work, is a scribal garbling of a *Dante*, as Ochoa, first editor of the *Cancionero de Baena*, transcribes it. Since Ochoa's transcription was for years the one relied on by most scholars, it is only to be expected that the interpretation of the end of the poem: "e fallé en mis manos andāte abierto / en el capitulo que la Virgen salva" should be that the poet awoke to find a copy of Dante's *Divine Comedy* open in his hands and that therefore the sage who acted as our poet's guide was Dante himself. The guide, however, is introduced only by description (str. 12 ff) and is said to be carrying "un libro de boca escriptura / escripto todo con oro muy fino, / e començaua: *En medio del camino*." I find no statement to the effect that the guide was the author of the book in question, though later (str. 52) we find that the guide is a poet, the previous description of whom (str. 13-15), however, leaves him indistinguishable from any of numberless hoary sages:

Era en vista benigno e suauo,
e en color era la su vçtidura
genisa o tierra que seca se caue;
barua e cabello aluo syn mesura;
traya vn libro de boca escriptura
escripto todo con oro muy fino,
e començaua: *En medio del camino*,
e del laurel corona e çentura.

De grant abtoridat avia senblante,
de poeta de grant exçelencia,
onde omilde enclinéme deiar te,
façiendole devyda reuerençia,
e dixe le con toda obediencia:
"Afectuossamente a vos me ofresco,

4. *Andāte* seems to be the name of some religious service book.

e maguer tanto de vos non meresco,
seá mi guya vuestra alta cyençia."

Diome rrespuesta en puro latin:

"A mí plase lo que tu dessecas",

E de ssy dixo en lengua florentin:

"E porque çierto tu mas de mi sseas

buelue conmigo, e quicio que veas

las syete estrellas que en el çielo rrelunbra,

e los sus rrayos que al mundo alunbran;

e esto, fijo, çiertamente creas."

The compliment to Dante would be more subtle, in fact, if the guide were *not* Dante himself but another poet who admired him enough to carry a gold-inscribed copy of the *Divine Comedy* (assuming, of course, that our poet's reference is to Dante's work).

Aside from the remarks on the guide's giving the appearance of being *benigno e suave* and of *grant autoridat*, in the three-stanza introduction, our poet rarely expresses an opinion about his companion: "muy *cortés* saluome," "mi *buena guya*," and "el *sabio*" or "el *sumo sabio*"⁵ are his only comments. He presents, instead, facts, and allows the reader to form his own opinion. It is almost entirely by statement of realistic and revealing detail in narration and dialogue that he develops and clearly presents the human personality of his guide. He allows his subject to speak for himself, in action as well as in word, until we conclude of our own accord that the guide was indeed *benigno e suave*, *de grant autoridat*, *buena guya*, and *sumo sabio*. We are constantly aware of his presence and particularly of the traits just mentioned, and we share our poet's reaction to his character and personality—to his courteous greeting; to the touch of his hand: "Tomome la mano e boluio por o vino;"⁶ to his gentle chiding: "creo que duermes o estas oçiosso," "e ssy non duermes, eres ome rrudo," "¿Pues, por qué tan mudo. . . ;"⁷ or his subtle admonition: ". . . la verdadera ffee, fijo, es llamada. / esta es la que crees e ia que amas," "Oye, mi fijo, guarda que agora / aquellas bestias non bueluan[a] la fuente. . . ;"⁸ or his thoughtful instruction or patient explanation: "Llega, mi fijo, con grant omildat / a estas tres dueñas papales," "de las mirar non ayas negligencia,"

5. Str. 12, 35, 25, 51 respectively.

6. Str. 16.

7. Str. 18, 19, 19 respectively.

8. Str. 27, 39.

"Buelue los ojos e alça mas el cejo," "e do te, mi fijo, rrespuesta muy biua, / que estonce, maguer tu eres çiego, / temias [= tenias] velada la virtud vissiba;"⁹ or tactful reminder: "... segunt ver pudiste," "Por ende, mi fijo, sy parares mientes," "... si bien as en mientes;"¹⁰ or his affectionate concern or encouragement: "onde me dixo la mi buena guya; / viendo que estaua asy cuydando, / 'En vn muy claro vidro plomado / non se ueria tan bien tu fygura, / commo en tu vida veo tu cuydado," "... e mientes paraua / en la mi vista, sy era contento," "E quando el poeta bien entendido / mi temido quier que non se avria / fablado, de fablar ardit me dio / disiendome: 'De tomar te desuia;"¹¹ or his constantly repeated paternal *fijo*, *mi fijo*, sometimes *mi amado fijo* (str. 34), *mi fijo amigo* (str. 38). The poet-guide's invective on the wicked city in the *Decir* reminds us of the righteous anger that inspired Dante to inveigh against Florence in the *Divine Comedy*.

Our poet has not invented the character he so vividly presents in his *Decir*. He has recreated him from bits he has gleaned (undoubtedly from memory) from the *Divine Comedy*, and has borrowed many of the words that bring him to life; the poet-guide is born of his own work. The fact that the expression is so compactly woven of another's stuff does not lessen its effectiveness here—rather, it emphasizes the keenness of our poet's psychological perception, his thorough assimilation of a loved poem, and the depth of his appreciation of his master as a person not less than as a poet. This realistic portrayal of an actual person is doubly significant in the history of Spanish literature: it is one of the earliest examples of the poetic re-creation of a human literary figure, and it is possibly the first instance of the use of such a personage to replace the allegorical apparition as the guide or commentator who bears the message in a poetic dream or vision. It is also an important contribution to the novelistic fictitious narrator technique, and indirectly to the dramatic play-within-a-play device.

For its contributions to the development of literary appreciation, technique, and character creation, the *Decir a las siete virtudes* is one of the earliest expressions of the Renaissance spirit

9. Str. 28, 31, 32, 53 respectively.

10. Str. 33, 37 and 54, 38 respectively.

11. Str. 35-36, 51, 52 respectively.

in Spanish literature. This spirit derives at least in part from the poet's concept of Dante, and is transmitted through his subtle presentation of his ideal.

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JUAN RUIZ AND OVID

By EDWIN J. WEBBER

DID JUAN RUIZ make direct use of Ovid? Despite Lecoy's assertion ("Juan Ruiz a connu Ovide et l'a utilisé"), we still do not know the answer with absolute certainty, and in all likelihood we will not know it until new evidence is found.¹ I do not pretend to solve the problem here, therefore; I wish only to observe that the problem still exists and to call attention to a detail of it which seems to have been overlooked in Lecoy's examination of the evidence. A book of the scope and density of the *Recherches* has an air of authority which tends to impose its conclusions—not only the well-founded, but the more tenuously based ones as well. Perhaps one should ask of the literary scholar, as one does of the linguistic scholar, that he star his hypothetical constructs. Thus designated, they would be borrowed and utilized with the circumspection they deserve.

Lecoy did not find it easy to make a decision concerning the precise relationship between Juan Ruiz and the two (possibly three) entities: "Ovidio" ("Nasón") and "Fánfilo". In the beginning, he reasons that Ruiz should have been familiar with Ovid:

. . . le poète que le Moyen Age des XIIe et XIIIe siècles a lu et relu sans cesse, au point que sa réputation éclipsa celle de Virgile, si brillante à l'époque carolingienne, et celle d'Horace, que l'époque subséquente avait pratiqué avec goût et profit. En France, l'*Ars amatoria* fut mise en langue vulgaire au moins quatre fois au cours de ces deux cents ans, sans compter les imitations plus ou moins libres qui en furent publiées. Il est certain que l'élégant et facile poète de Sulmone était lu également dans les écoles d'Espagne, et il est peu probable qu'il soit resté inconnu à Juan Ruiz.²

Nevertheless (he continues), there is reason to doubt that Ruiz knew Ovid at firsthand:

Toutefois notre poète traite sa matière avec une liberté telle que l'on a pu douter sérieusement si ces connaissances venaient d'une lecture directe du texte d'Ovide, ou si elles n'étaient que le reflet d'un enseignement et d'une doctrine diffuse à l'époque, doctrine à laquelle notre Archiprêtre aurait participé, au même titre que le premier lecteur venu des oeuvres de la littérature

1. F. Lecoy, *Recherches sur le Libro de buen amor* (Paris, 1938), p. 306.

2. Ibid., pp. 293-294.

courtoise ou du *Pamphilus*. Et il est bien vrai qu'il n'est pas aisé de trouver un vers du *Libro de Buen Amor* dont on puisse affirmer sans conteste qu'il est la traduction d'un vers d'Ovide.³

However, he discerns "almost certain proof" that Ruiz knew Ovid directly:

Toutefois l'allure générale du développement et le grand nombre des conseils qui se retrouvent identiques chez l'auteur espagnol et chez l'auteur latin fournissent une preuve quasi certaine.⁴

When Lecoy compares the *Ars amatoria* and the *Libro de buen amor* textually, what tangible data does he find? Verbal similarities, it turns out, are very rare.⁵ He does not rely upon any of them. He observes, however, that:

. . . l'Archprêtre cite le poète latin cinq fois, aux passages suivants: 429, a, 429 d, 446 d [read c], 612 a, 891 d. Trois fois il le cite seul sous le nom d'Ovide (429 a, 446 c, 612 a), deux fois sous le nom de Nason en même temps que *Pamphilus* (429 d, 891 d).⁶

But, more than this, there are a number of correspondences in the fabric of the narrative which, taken together, compel him to believe in the direct borrowing: ". . . il faut se rendre à une évidence qui résulte de l'ensemble du développement, bien plus que du détail"—this despite some *grosses divergences*, which, however, he can account for.⁷

Though Lecoy appears to attach secondary importance to the five explicit references to Ovid, preferring to rest his case principally upon the demonstration of the general correspondences, he does indeed rely upon them, as representing the stoutest verbal link between Juan Ruiz and Ovid. After some hesitation, he states circumspectly, but with positive implications:

Quoi qu'il en soit, et que Juan Ruiz ait ignoré ou nom [read *nom*] que Nason n'était pas autre chose que le surnom d'Ovide (ce qui, soit dit en passant,

3. Ibid., p. 294. He cites the opinions of Cejador and Puyol y Alonso, who saw in the *Pamphilus* the only Ovidian source of Juan Ruiz. To these he adds the name of Bonilla on the basis of the opinion expressed by the latter in his article on the "Antecedentes del tipo celestinesco en la literatura latina," *RH*, XV (1906), 372-386: "que l'Archiprêtre était un ignorant sans culture," without having noted that in *Una comedia latina del siglo XII* (Madrid, 1917), p. 9, n. 1, Bonilla held a contrary view: "creo extraordinariamente probable que el Arcipreste conociese de un modo directo las obras de Ovidio." He was following Schevilli in this.

4. Ibid., p. 294.

5. Ibid., p. 305.

6. Ibid., p. 303.

7. Ibid., pp. 302, 306.

trahirait une ignorance assez étrange), il n'ignorait certainement pas l'existence d'un poète latin nommé Ovide et il savait qu'il était l'auteur d'un *Art d'AIMER*.⁸ He refers, for proof, to lines 429 *a* ("Sy leyerer Ovydio, el que fué mi criado"), 446 *c* ("Esto que te castigo con Ouidio con cuerda"), and 612 *a* ("El Amor leó a Ovydyo en la escuela"). The reader of the *Recherches*, in effect, is left to draw his own conclusions from these juxtaposed elements. What, then, is more logical than to infer, on the basis of information from Juan Ruiz himself, evidently, that the latter knew Ovid at firsthand?

But Lecoy has neglected to take into account a factor which, I feel, weakens his inferential argument. There is another possible source—surely well known to Juan Ruiz—to which the direct allusions to Ovid may be reduced: the *Dicta Catonis*, the moral distichs of Cato, popular elementary Latin reader of the Middle Ages. At the beginning of Book II of the *Dicta Catonis*, the interested reader is referred to the recognized authority in each of several fields:

Telluris si forte velis cognoscere cultus,
Vergilium legito; quodsi mage nosse laboras
herbarum vires, Macer haec tibi carmina dicit;
si Romana cupis et Punica noscere bella,
Lucanum quaeres, qui Martis proelia dixit;
si quid amare libet vel discere amare legendo,
Nasonem petito;⁹

That is to say: "If you wish to have a love affair, or if you wish to learn how to love by reading, seek it in Naso (Ovid)." This, in the context of Ruiz' narrative, and combined with the *Pamphilus*, is adequate to account for the remark of Don Amor:

Sy leyerer Ovydio, el que fué mi criado,
en él fallarás fablas que le ove yo mostrado,
muchas buenas maneras para enamorado;
Pánfilo e Nasón: yo los ove castigado (429).

"Pánfilo" here would be the protagonist of the play: fictional amatory character paired with legendary amatory author, Ovid. When Don Amor later comments: "Esto que te castigo con Ouidio con cuerda" (446 *c*), and Doña Venus remarks: "El Amor

8. Ibid., p. 303.

9. *Minor Latin Poets*, ed. J. and A. Duff (Cambridge-London, 1934), pp. 602-604. Bonilla, in *Una comedia latina del siglo XII* (ed. cit.) cited this passage at the beginning of his introduction, but pursued it no further. Juan Ruiz twice refers to Cato by name: 44 *a* and 568 *c*, as he quotes from the distichs.

leó a Ovydyo en la escuela" (612 *a*), no extraneous element has been introduced. When finally Juan Ruiz excuses himself for any possible indelicacy in the narrative, he merely repeats the names paired earlier: Pamphilus the amatory protagonist and Ovid the amatory author:

Sy vyllanía he dicho, aya de vos perdón,
que lo fe[1]o de estoria diz Pánfilo e Nasón (891 *c-d*).

To conclude: looking at the textual evidence with a hypercritical eye, it is possible to account for the allusions to Ovid by a combination of the *Dicta Catonis* and the *Pamphilus*.

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THE CARBUNCLE IN MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

By ARTHUR ROBERT HARDEN

AMONG THE NUMEROUS precious stones mentioned in medieval French literature, and most notably in the *chansons de geste*, none had a more curious or interesting tradition than the carbuncle. It derived its name, of course, from its sombre red color and from its distinctive cut, *en cabochon*, which meant that it had a convex, non-faceted surface. The Ancients apparently applied the name to both the ruby and the garnet, although it was to the latter category which it belonged. It was customary to place a piece of metal foil behind the stone in its setting or make a hole in it into which the foil was inserted in order to increase the brilliance of its generally dark hue. Theophilus, he who was called, also, Rugerus, in his eleventh century encyclopedia of Christian art provided a recipe for fabricating the gem, which consisted of melting together in a glass furnace one part of finely calcined gold and two parts of sal alkali.¹

In antiquity, the carbuncle always distinguished itself from other precious stones by the fact that it possessed both an ornamental and an utilitarian purpose. Old Testament tradition provides an illustration of the former. For this jewel is one of many which appears on the breastplate of the High Priest.² The legends associated with another Middle Eastern faith reveal an example of the stone's more pragmatic potentialities. Mohammed, at one point in his career, makes in a dream a celebrated ascent through the seven heavens of the Moslem persuasion. As he moves through the sixth of these he discovers that it is not only

1. Theophilus Rugerus, *Theophili, qui est Rugerus, Presbyteri et Monachi*, ed. Robert Hendrie (London; J. Murray, 1847), p. 174. It should be noted that the possibility exists that the ruby was meant when the term *escarboucle* was used. For the ruby, also, had the quality of still glowing when covered or in the dark, vide *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1913), pp. 101-102. However, in each instance cited in the present article, the carbuncle is the term utilized, and this is certainly its most distinctive characteristic. I am indebted to Professor A. E. Engstrom for information with regard to this matter.

2. Exodus 28: 15-20.

inhabited by John the Baptist but, also, illuminated by the radiance of the carbuncle.³

The tradition of the carbuncle's dual function was maintained by many medieval French authors, especially in the rhymed adventures of their *chanson de geste* heroes. As evidence of the utilitarian aspect of the stone, there is the case of Raoul de Cambrai who possessed a helmet on the nose-piece of which there was a carbuncle which illuminated his path at night:

En icele elme ot .j. nazel d'or fin;
.l. escarboucle i ot mis enterin,
Par nuit obscure en voit on le chemin.⁴

Similarly Ogier le Danois' friend and rival, Karaheus, who had abandoned the Saracen cause for that of the French, had five most useful carbuncles on his head-piece which not only enabled him to travel on water at night but even to hunt:

Armes demande, quatorze roi i sallent,
El dos li vestent le blanc auberc d'Arabe.
Puis lacha l'elme, mult ii fu avenable;
Devant le cercle cinq escarboncles ardent,
Par nuit obscure en puet-on faire garde.
Aler en puet en riviere u en cace;⁵

In this same *chanson de geste* the author attempts to define the distance that the stone could project its brilliance, a matter of three or four leagues in this instance.⁶

In addition to providing light for purely personal activities, the carbuncle was often represented as offering, as in the case of Mohammed's sixth heaven, illumination for buildings, especially

3. There is considerable discrepancy about the details of Mohammed's celestial adventure. The *Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend* published by Funk and Wagnall in the article on the carbuncle states that this stone is in the fourth heaven and that the account of Mohammed's voyage is to be found in the Koran. The Koran, however, merely mentions in the briefest terms, the journey as taking place and gives no details of the heavens whatsoever, vide *Life of Mohammed*, Sir William Muir (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1912), p. 122. A. S. Tritton in his volume *Islam* (London: Hutchison University Press, 1957), p. 142, states that John the Baptist is in the second heaven. The information given here is taken from Humphrey Prideaux's *La Vie de Mahomet* (Amsterdam: George Gallet, 1698), p. 62.

4. *Raoul de Cambrai*, ed. P. Meyer and A. Longnon (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1882), lines 483-485.

5. *La Chevalerie Ogier de Danemarche, par Raimbert de Paris*, ed. J. Barrois (Paris: Techener, 1842), lines 1641-1646.

6. Op. cit., lines 11244-11249.

at night. Girart de Roussillon, just before Charles' vicious attack on his ancestral home, boasted to his friend, Bernard, of the splendid manner in which that structure was lighted by a carbuncle which seemed to change midnight into mid-day:

"Plus t'en dirai, Bernarz," Girarz le dis.

"Quant verreit mon palais qui resplendi

"Et l'un caire en l'autre per magestis

"E verreit l'escarboncle que resplendis-

"Samble de mienuit que soit midis-

"Criem que Carles Martels l'encobeis,

"C'abanceis me desfie qu'eï le gerpis."

In another example, Charlemagne, returning from Spain after Roland's death, in the version of that event recorded in *Aimeri de Narbonne*, passed, also at night, a city held by the Saracens. Even though obliged to remain at a distance, he was able to examine the quality and nature of the fortifications in detail because of the blazing light emanating from a carbuncle. Once again it could be seen to glow at a distance of four leagues:

Sus as estages del pales principer

Ot .j. pomel de fin or d'outremer;

Un escharbocle i orent fet fermer

Qui flanbeoit et reluisoit molt cler,

Com li solauz qui au main doit lever,

Par nuit obscure, sanz menconge conter,

De .iiij. liues le puet en esgarder.⁸

A further instance of the carbuncle's capacity to illuminate the interior of a residence can be drawn from the *Pelerinage de Charlemagne*. In this "spoof" of the classic *chanson de geste*, Hugon, the king of Constantinople, arranges to have a spy placed in the magnificent quarters reserved for the visitors, Charlemagne and his Peers. By means of a handsome carbuncle set in a column, the unseen observer can easily cast his shocked glance over the roistering, boasting guests because:

L'escarboucle brillait si bien qu'un homme pouvait y voir

Comme en mai, en ete, quand le soleil brille.⁹

As a purely ornamental stone the carbuncle frequently adorned medieval costumes and appurtenances, at least, as they are found

7. *Girart de Roussillon*, ed. W. M. Hackett (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1953), lines 822-828.

8. *Aimeri de Narbonne*, ed. L. Demaison (Paris: F. Didot et cie, 1887), lines 175-181.

9. *Pelerinage de Charlemagne*, ed. A. J. Cooper (Paris: A. Lahure, 1925), lines 441-442.

in literature. The following incidents drawn from the *Quatre fils Aimon* will illustrate the aesthetic esteem in which the jewel was held. In this tale, also, it is curious to note how often the bitter rivalry between Charles and Aymon's eldest son, Renaud, was concentrated in and symbolized by this glowing red stone.

In one of the earliest episodes of the story, Charles foolishly offers the peerless carbuncle of his crown, where it possibly occupies a position of religious significance in the regalia of the God-King similar to that in the breastplate of the High Priest, as a prize in a horse race. Renaud is determined to gain it. Having disguised himself, he dashes through the course on his phenomenal steed, Bayard, and sweeps away the gem. When the fierce-tempered monarch learns that it is his enemy who has captured the jewel, his frustration and fury are unbounded. Later, these same emotions are to recur when the king loses another stone of the same type to the same man. In this case, it is the gem which ornaments Charles' tent:

Ilz se tendent sor Muese por eus mios aaisier
Le tref le roi ont fait enmi le pre ficier,
Li pumious por deseure fist forment a prisier
.l. escharboucle i ot que li rois ot molt cier.¹⁰

During a battle, Renaud rushes to this most protected of positions and brazenly seizes the stone. He is, of course, attacked but escapes. Charles is desolated. Subsequently, as if to aggravate further the king's chagrin, Renaud reveals his intention of placing the gem in his own palace as a beacon to those pilgrims who are making their way to Sartiago:

"L'escarboucle metrai en (mon) palais plenier,
"Si verra l'on de loins tres bien refflamboier,
"Cil k'iront a Saint (Jakme), por dame Deu proier."¹¹

However, one of the most touching instances of the carbuncle's intrinsic worth and one which fittingly terminates this examination of its esteem as both a utilitarian and ornamental gem occurs in *Girart de Rossillon*. At the conclusion of this *chanson de geste*, the hero and his wife have abandoned all worldly ways. Indeed, they have become saints. The poet, in order to underscore his veneration for the couple, can choose no other image for comparison than that of a jewel, and more particularly a carbuncle:

10. *Quatre Fils Aimon*, ed. F. Castets (Montpellier: Coulet et fils, 1909), lines 2169-2172.

11. Op. cit., lines 4997-4999.

Ce fut dou duc Girart et de Berte sa femme.
L'uns fut droiz escharboncles, l'autre fut fine gemme.¹²

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12. *Girard de Roussillon*, ed. E. B. Ham (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939), lines 6335-6336.

SOME SPANISH SUMMARIES OF THE *CANTIGAS* *DE SANTA MARIA*

By JOHN ESTEN KELLER

and

ROBERT WHITE LINKER

THE FAME OF King Alfonso X as a patron of translation is well known. The reasons for translating¹ in the case of Arabic, Syriac or Hebrew are evident. But why did the Learned King, or some one connected with his court, think that it was worthwhile or necessary to render into Spanish the *Cantigas de Santa María*, written in Galician-Portuguese, a tongue so close to Spanish that it was, even in Spain, the favorite medium of lyric poetry during the entire medieval period and even thereafter? Certainly, no poet would have needed such translation, nor would, probably, anyone whose native tongue was Spanish.

Before we continue with the translations or renditions of certain of the *cantigas* in an effort to see how closely they follow the original, it might be well to say a few words about the appearance of these passages whose very existence is known to few scholars. The Marquis of Valmar in the Introduction to his edition of the *Cantigas* describes the summaries briefly, and Walter Mettmann reprints the Marquis' words in the Introduction to his new edition.² The statement is as follows:

Al pié de las páginas, y a todo el ancho de las dos col. del texto unas veces, otros, en fin, debajo de las miniaturas, se halla la explicación de cada cantiga, en prosa castellana, y letra de la misma época que la de aquellas. Este comentario, que en algunas hojas casi ha desaparecido por el roce constante, sólo llega a la cantiga XXV.³

No facts beyond these, insofar as the writers have been able to

1. The word 'translation' we use advisedly. Perhaps 'rendition' is safer, for much of what came into Spanish under King Alfonso's patronage was not strictly translation.

2. Cueto, Leopoldo, Marqués de Valmar, *Cántigas de Santa María de Don Alfonso el Sabio* (Madrid, 1889); Walter Mettmann, *Afonso X, o Sábio, Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Coimbra, 1959) only volume I of which is now in print.

3. Mettmann, *op. cit.*, xi.

verify, have been printed about these interesting Spanish renditions of the Galician-Portuguese text.

Since the translations or renderings exist only for the first twenty-five *cantigas*—there is no omission, but a continuous sequence through number twenty-five—it is logical to opine that the plan was to render all the songs in the codex into Spanish.⁴ Why this was not done may never be known. Perhaps the king died after the first twenty-five had been rendered. Since he is known to have read and edited a good deal of what was written under his patronage, this may well be the answer, especially in the case of his most revered book.⁵

We present now the full text of *Cantiga XXIV*⁶ with its rendition into Spanish⁷ so as to study how close original and translation are. What occurs in this comparison is typical of other translations, for all, save for the few which are summarized in two or three lines, offer detailed accounts of what the poetic versions contain, and all paraphrase with the same reasonable amount of accuracy this content.

Esta é como Santa Maria fez nacer hua fror na boca ao crerigo, depois que foi morto, e era en semellança de lilio, porque a loava.

1. *Madre de Deus, non pod' errar / que[n] en ti á fiança.*

Non pod' errar nen falecer
que[n] loar te sab' e temer.
Dest' un miragre retraer
quero, que foi en França.

2. *Madre de Deus, non pod' errar / quen en ti á fiança.*

En Chartes o[u]v' un crerizon,
que era tafur e ladron,
mas na Virgen de coração
avia esperança.

3. *Madre de Deus, non pod' errar / quen en ti á fiança.*

Quand' algur ya mal fazer,

4. Four codices exist. The one containing the translations is Escorial Codex T.i.I (sometimes referred to as E.I). There are 212 pages of illuminated miniatures in full color in this manuscript, and it is under the first twenty-five of these pages of miniatures that the translations or renditions appear.

5. In *Cantiga* 235 King Alfonso is cured of a mortal fever by holding in his hand a copy of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. He esteemed the book so highly that he bequeathed it to the Cathedral of Seville, stating that its songs be sung on feast days of the Blessed Virgin.

6. Walter Mettmann, *Cantigas*, 68-69.

7. The present writers have edited the summaries or translations and hope soon to have them in print.

se via omagen seer
de Santa Maria, corre;
y lá sen tardança.

4. *Madre de Deus, non pod' errar / quen en ti á fiança.*

E pois fazia oraçon,
ya comprir seu mal cnton;
por en morreu sen confisson,
per sua malandança.

5. *Madre de Deus, non pod' errar / quen en ti á fiança.*

Porque tal morte foi morrer,
nono quiseron receber
no sagrad', e ouv' a jazer
fora, sen demorança.

6. *Madre de Deus, non pod' errar / quen en ti á fiança.*

Santa Maria en vision
se mostrou a pouca razón
a un prest', e disse-ll' cnton:
"Fezestes malesiança.

7. *Madre de Deus, non pod' errar / quen en ti á fiança.*

Porque non quisestes coller
o meu crerigo, nen meter
no sagrad', e longe poei
o fostes por viltança.

8. *Madre de Deus, non pod' errar / quen en ti á fiança.*

Mas cras, asse Deus vos perdon,
ide por el con procisson,
con choros e con devoçon,
ca foi grand' a errança.

9. *Madre de Deus, non pod' errar / quen en ti á fiança.*

O preste logo foi-ss' erger
e mandou os sinos tanger,
por ir o miragre veer
da Virgen sen duitança.

10. *Madre de Deus, non pod' errar / quen en ti á fiança.*

Os crerigos en mui bon son
cantando "kyrieleyson",
viron jazer aquel baron,
u fez Deus demostrança.

11. *Madre de Deus, non pod' errar / quen en ti á fiança.*

Que, porque fora ben dizer
dessa Madre, fez-lle nacer
fror na boca e parecer
de liro semellança.

12. *Madre de Deus, non pod' errar / quen en ti á fiança.*

Esto teveron por gran don
da Virgen, e mui con razón;

e pois fezeron en sermon,
levárono con dança.

Madre de Deus, non pod' errar / quen en ti á fiança

* * *

1. Esta estoria es como en la villa de Chartes acaescio que un clerigo tafur e ladron teniendo grant devoçion en Santa Maria, quando yva a fazer sus yerros, doquiera que fallava su figura de Santa Maria, sienpre le fazie rreverencia e fincava los inojos ante ella e le fazie su oracion en que lo oviese en su encomienda. E acaescio que este clerigo, andando en sus furtos, que morio subitamente syn confesion.

2. E por esto los clerigos non le quisieron enterrar en sagrado. Et Santa Maria veno en vision a un preste de aquel lugar e dixole que aquel clerigo que era su encomendado e que le avia ganado perdon del su fijo porque en su vida e al tiempo de su muerte se le encomendara.

3. E por señal que ally do estava enterrado tenie una flor de lirio en la boca e que le mandava que lo dixiese asy a los otros clerigos e que le desoterrasen de aquel lugar e lo posiesen en procesion en otro lugar sagrado.

4. Et el preste, desde aquella vision vio, fuese luego a aquel lugar onde aquel clerigo estava enterrado e fallole en la boca aquel lirio que Santa Maria dixiera, et luego fizo avivar los clerigos de aquella villa de Chartes e mandaron tañer las canpanas e con grant proçesion tomaron al clerigo con su lirio en la boca, dando loor a Santa Maria, enterraronlo en sagrado.

5. Et por esto el rrey don Alfonso fizo una cantiga a Santa Maria que dize:
Ay Madre de Dios, non puede errar qusen en ty a fiança.

* * *

The poem, of 63 lines, contains roughly 400 words. The prose Spanish version, of 11 lines, contains 275. At first glance one sees that the Spanish is not an exact translation of the Galician-Portuguese.

The title and the first stanza are not rendered into Spanish. However, stanzas 3, 4, and 5 are paraphrased in Spanish, and in some detail. The content is more or less the same.

The content of stanzas 6 and 7 appears in paragraph 2, although it is not a translation. Certainly, the Galician made no mention of the sinful priest's having obtained pardon from the Son of God.

Stanza 8 has nothing about the lily which will be found in the dead priest's mouth nor does it say that the priests are to bury him in holy ground, although paragraph 3 in the Spanish mentions both of these matters.

Stanza 9 tells us of the priest who saw the vision and of how

he hurried to have bells rung and to bring the monks to see the miracle, and in stanza 10 the priests go singing *Kyrieleyson* to see the dead priest. But paragraph 4 in the Spanish version shows us the priest going first to see the miracle of the lily, then summoning the brethren and having bells rung and a procession to the grave with the sinful priest's body. The Spanish does not mention the *Kyrie*. Nor does the Portuguese of Stanza 11 state that the body was buried a second time, although the idea had been mentioned in stanza 8.

Stanza 11 is no translation of any part of paragraph 4, for it speaks of the lily for the first time.

And stanza 12 is hardly to be considered a translation of paragraph 5, although both stanza and paragraph indicate that celebrations will be held or that the event will be perpetuated in writing.

Such then are the summaries, renditions, translations or explanations in Spanish of the Galician-Portuguese *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. They are important, for they offer hitherto unstudied passages in medieval Castilian and contain vocabulary drawn from a different background than other Alfonsine works. They show us, too, that even a sister tongue like Galician was translated under the patronage of King Alfonso 'el Sabio,' and indicate something of the degree of exactitude with which such translations were made.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

THE PALATAL *N* OF OLD FRENCH *GRIGNIER*, *CHIGNIER*

By PAUL W. BROSMAN, JR.

THE COMMONLY ACCEPTED etymologies of OF *grignier* 'grin' (>modern *grigner*) and *chignier* 'grimace' (>modern *-chigner* in *rechigner* 'grumble, complain') derive these verbs from etyma related to OHG *grīnan* 'bare the teeth (in good or bad humor)' and *kīnan* 'gape, split, sprout', respectively. Each etymology is satisfactory semantically and neither presents a phonological difficulty other than the occurrence of *gn* where the Germanic verbs contained an *n* which was not palatalized. The apparent palatalization, however, must be considered a problem, for in borrowings from Germanic dialects into Romance, *n* did not regularly enter the Romance language as a palatal, either generically or in the position following *i*.

Meyer-Lübke attributes the palatal of *grignier* to analogy with OF *grogner* 'to grumble',¹ but offers no explanation for that of *chignier*.² Analogy with *grogner* is plausible enough, if *grignier* is considered as an isolated problem, thought it must be said that the satisfaction it affords is appreciably diminished by the uncertainty of the source of its model.³ Indeed the *gn* of *grogner* has been explained as due to the influence of *grignier*.⁴ Moreover, whatever its individual merits, this explanation leaves *chignier* as a separate problem, one for which no solution is provided.

Körting⁵ postulates a synonymous verb **grīnjan*, presumably of the first class weak, which he lists alongside the entry of *grīnan* to account for the palatal *n* of *grignier*. This procedure likewise is not in itself implausible, and it is true that modern

1. Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*³ 329 (Heidelberg, 1935).

2. Meyer-Lübke, 382.

3. Meyer-Lübke, 331.

4. Oscar Bloch and Walther von Wartburg, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue française* 350 (Paris, 1932).

5. Gustav Körting, *Lateinisch-Romanisches Wörterbuch*³ 494 (Paderborn, 1907).

German *greinen* (<*grinan*) is now a weak verb. We might expect **grinjan* to have entered the fourth Romance conjugation as **grinir* or possibly **grignir*, but if **grinjan* alone could not serve as the etymon of *grignier*, it could have been blended with *grinan* to produce this result. *Grinan* uncontaminated would then have served as the source of Prov. *grinar* 'grin', which is usually treated as part of the problem of *grignier*. However, aside from the palatal *n* of the French verb, there is no evidence that **grinjan* existed in any Germanic dialect. In assuming the form, Körting has followed Diez, who based his assumption on the existence of OE *grinian* 'ensnare'.⁶ The Old English verb, however, was of the second class weak and would therefore tend to establish the existence of an OHG **grinon*, not **grinjan*. Moreover, it involves semantic difficulties and its *i*, which alternated with spellings with *y*, was of uncertain or unstable length.⁷

Bosworth and Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Supplement* 487 (Oxford, 1921).

Greinen is now weak, but in its Middle High German form, *grinen*, it was still strong.⁸ Therefore, whether **grinjan* once existed or not, the present inclusion of *greinen* among the weak verbs must be due to a later development in accord with the general direction of drift from strong to weak. And, once again, *chignier* remains a problem. It would be possible, of course, simply to assume that **kinjan* existed beside *kinan*, for if *grignier* can be explained in this manner, the same method could be used for *chignier* with equal justification. This assumption has not been made, however, and it must be said that the likelihood of such an explanation's applying independently to each verb should be only half as great as the likelihood that the etymon of either one alone existed yet was unattested. Like Meyer-Lübke, Körting does not attempt to account for the *gn* of *chignier*.⁹

The explanation of *grignier* offered by the dictionaries of

6. Friedrich Diez, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Romanischen Sprachen* 224 (Bonn, 1869).

7. Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* 490, 492 (Oxford, 1882).

8. Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch* 1086 (Leipzig, 1872).

9. Körting, 568.

Bloch-Wartburg¹⁰ and Gamillscheg¹¹ is essentially the same as that proposed by Meyer-Lübke. The former assumes **grīnon* as the etymon, despite the fact that *grīnan* is attested in Old High German and **grīnon* is not. The reason for this postulation is obscure, since it does not help explain the sole difficulty encountered by *grīnan*: Bloch-Wartburg and Gamillscheg both rely, like Meyer-Lübke, upon *grogner* to account for the *gn* of the Old French form. With respect to *chignier*, Bloch-Wartburg¹² again concur with Meyer-Lübke, though with misgivings because of the lack in this case of a model to supply *gn*. Gamillscheg¹³, however, rejects *kinan* as the source of *chignier*, on the ground that its initial consonant was improper. His objection derives from his tacit assumption (shared by the other scholars mentioned) that (Low) 'Franconian' is the only Germanic dialect which can be considered as the potential source of the Old French verb. This assumption he combines with the belief (not shared by the others) that the Low German equivalent of High German *kinan* must be **gīnan*. Apparently he has been misled by an account of the High German sound-shift which emphasized the distinctively 'high' features of Old High German without specifying the limitations of their effect and extent. In fact, West Germanic *g* and *k* both remain unshifted initially in all Old High German dialects except the two of Upper German and even among these latter the change *g* > *k* is not carried out consistently. That *kinan* is quoted in its 'standard' or unshifted form is shown by Got. *keinan* 'sprout' and OE *cīnan* 'crack, split'.

Gamillscheg suggests that *chignier* is of denominative formation, from OF **chenne* 'tooth', the hypothetical Francian equivalent of attested Picard *quenne* 'tooth', which is in turn a borrowing of Low Franconian **kinmi* 'chin'. *Kinmi* is attested in Old High German. Why it does not participate in the *k* / *g* alternation he attributes to *kinan*, he does not say.

The single common feature of the two Old French verbs is that each shows *gn* where one should expect *n*. What the Ger-

10. Bloch-Wartburg, 348. But see fn. 4 above.

11. Ernst Gamillscheg, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache* 489-90 (Heidelberg, 1928).

12. Bloch-Wartburg, 212. Wartburg now considers the model to have been *grignier*: Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* 2. 676-7 (Tübingen, 1949).

13. Gamillscheg, 746.

manic etyma have in common is that both are first-class strong verbs with stems ending in *n*. It is true of all such Germanic verbs that the *n* of the stem did not originally belong to the root, but was a suffix used to form verb stems and confined in Proto-Indo-European to the present system.¹⁴ In the perfect and the past participle which together supplied three of the four principal parts of the Germanic verb, the *n* was missing. Thus the inherited forms of *grīnan* and *kīnan* should once have been: *grīnan*, **grai*, **grijum*, *-*grijan* and *kīnan*, **kai*, **kijum*, *-*kijan*. One of the *j*-forms is actually attested in the Gothic participle *us-kijanata* 'sprouted forth'.¹⁵ In the earliest Continental West Germanic texts, those of Old High German some four to five hundred years later than Wulfila's Gothic and approximately the same length of time after the beginnings of continuous contact between West Germanic speakers and the speakers of incipient French, *n* has already spread to all forms of these verbs. As Got. *us-kijanata* shows, this spread must have taken place, or at least been completed, within the separate branches of Germanic, not within Proto-Germanic. It therefore appears likely that *grignier* and *chignier* were borrowed prior to the leveling of *n* throughout the West Germanic paradigm and that the Old French verbs represent a blend of the *j*-forms with those containing *n* but no *j*. What should be done with Prov. *grinar* is rather uncertain, for the verb is attested but once.¹⁶ Since its meaning in this one instance is not entirely clear, it is impossible to determine whether it belongs with OF *grignier* or not. If one wishes to treat the two verbs together, *grinar* may easily be explained. It obviously must represent an independent borrowing into Romance, in which case it may have been based upon the present stem alone, without influence of the past forms. It is equally likely, however, that the borrowing was made at a time when or from a dialect where the spread of *n* had already taken place.

As to the dialect from which *grignier* and *chignier* were borrowed, there is again little which can be said. Körting describes the etymon of *grignier* as Old High German, but considers that of *chignier* to have been Low Franconian. All other scholars men-

14. Wilhelm Streitberg, *Urgermanische Grammatik* 294-5 (Heidelberg, 1896).

15. Wilhelm Braune, *Gotische Grammatik*¹² 96 (Halle, 1947).

16. Meyer-Lübke, 329.

tioned here attribute the sources of both verbs to Low Franconian. Phonologically both could come from any dialect of Continental West Germanic, with the possible exception of the Upper German dialects, though even these latter cannot be ruled out unequivocally. Presumably they were borrowed at the same time and from the same dialect. For reasons of external history it is likely that this was Low or Rhine Franconian. So long as attention is confined to the two verbs alone, no more precise determination can be made.

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A NEW PERIODIZATION OF LITERARY HISTORY: A REVIEW ARTICLE¹

By HELMUT HATZFELD

OUR DECISIVE INSIGHTS into the essence of the epochs of literature will remain blurred as long as we use the almost absurd slogans: Classicism, Romanticism, Siglo de Oro, Risorgimento and what not. The reason is that these labels offer neither a formal nor a conceptual principle, let alone a combination of the two. To change the situation there have to be renounced many frozen positions which Romance literary historians in particular seem to take for granted because they are so maintained in the national petrifications of Paris, Madrid and Rome respectively. First of all, the three great Romance literatures for purposes of periodization ought to be considered not in isolation but on a comparative basis; second, an agreement has to be reached on the primacy of form in the content—form relation within literature. If this point was still a matter of taste and choice in the speculative era of Croce and Vossler, it has now become an irrefutable necessity since Stender Pedersen has applied Louis Hjelmslev's linguistic principles of content and form to literature. With this shift to stress on form in literature, preceded by the contributions of Russian formalism, American New Criticism and Spitzerian stylistics, literary history needs a method of formal periodization.

This method was anticipated decades ago within the history of art where the thesis of primacy of form is generally accepted and even "Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte" (Dvorac) and "Iconography" (Panofsky) are only ancillary aids to the elucidation of the forms. Third, general aesthetics since the eighteenth century, and modern comparative practical aesthetics (Oscar Walzel) as well as sociology (Arnold Hauser) have stressed the inseparability of the arts as expressing by different media the same views and preoccupations of a cultural epoch. Now, given the fact that literature and art represent the same world view at dif-

1. Wylie Sypher, *Rococo to Cubism in Art and Literature* (New York. Random House, 1960), xxviii + 353 pp.

ferent epochs, that both are form-minded, that their forms are related, that art history has clarified these forms and used them to build up a workable periodization of art history,—literary history, [dumb and] deaf to such problems until now, cannot do anything else but—faute de mieux—follow art history as closely as possible in form analysis and periodization based upon it.

Since Romance scholars with very few exceptions (e.g. Franco Simone) seem allergic to this problem because they do not have any tools of their own to handle it, it might be well for them to receive a lesson and challenge along these lines from a keen and clear-sighted literary critic in the English field: Wylie Sypher. Although working with the extremes of English literature and continental European art, filling only the gaps with Romance literary material, Professor Sypher has produced a periodization which in its main lines can survive criticism and which, by implication, invites the literary historian in the Romance field urgently to reconsider and cooperate.

In an earlier work which already has become a paper-back classic,² Mr. Sypher has made plausible that the literary historian can understand the epoch 1500-1700 for his own material only, if he follows the periodization generally accepted by the art historians: Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque and Late Baroque. Sypher's point is neither a cultural psychology nor a formal comparison of the different media of art (although all this may be implied) but is the conviction that art forms coincide with philosophies of life and phases of science, becoming outspoken whenever the collective view on and of the world is clear (Renaissance, Baroque), and tentative only whenever there is a groping from one World-view to another (Mannerism, Late Baroque).

Sypher's new book *Rococo to Cubism in Art and Literature*, continuing the older one, is still more detailed and more revolutionary also with regard to art history itself; this time he periodizes art styles neglected by the art historians until now. Sypher's intuition on the whole appears again convincing and rich in new avenues, based on a wealth of information. Reading the book with the eyes of a Romance scholar I would pick

2. Wylie Sypher, *Four Stages of Renaissance Style* (New York. Doubleday, 1955).

out the following: again there are established four periods, covering the time from 1700-1950: 1., Rococo, 2., a styleless period still to be defined perhaps as pseudo-Realism and covering the trends—but by no means styles—"Romanticism" and "Symbolism", 3., Neo-Mannerism, and 4., Cubism.

According to Sypher's fundamental idea which may be stressed again, the main criterium for an epoch and its style is the philosophical and scientific contemporaneous collective world view (Weltanschauung) behind it. Although Rococo looks at first sight like a restricted decorative style which only with difficulty was applied to architecture, it comes clearly to the fore in literature as the correlation to philosophical deism and thus proves to be a coherent style of intricate detail upon a flat surface. How much could a French scholar have done with Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot! But our specialists are interested only in the "thought" of enlightenment as though they were philosophers. Sypher limits his examples to "faintly" thinking Alexander Pope but with many citations to the point. Then the form under the impact of the *veduta fantastica* goes into some more picturesque, arabesque, virtuoso qualities which one used to call pre-Romanticism. But form and content at this stage of evolution appear confused. While Rococo was convincingly presented as a style, "Romanticism" appears only as a formless feeling of revolt against literary traditions and conventions, as a confusion of sentiment and sentimentality. The latter is nature bound and object happy. Hundreds of variations of a *réalisme manqué* hide their virtual style motif and steadily lead either to an artificial *art pour l'art* or to a vulgar naturalism, neither of them losing their "romantic" psychological confusion. Rising positivism, not too different from deism, blocks rather than furthers the resurgence of a new style. Géricault and Ingres, Stendhal and Balzac are in the throes of this situation without an issue. Thus "le stupide dix-neuvième siècle" leads only to mannered stylisations, not to a new style; it leads to pseudo-realistic dandy- and superman heroes in Stendhal and Balzac, to pseudo-philosophical plights of pantheistic lyricisms in Lamartine (and Hugo!), the same as in Keats and the "schizoid" Byron. Here, I must confess, I would rather resort to Lovejoy's national romanticisms than to oversimplify matters by identifying the French *thesei*-romanticism with the English *physei*-romantics. Also Flaubert's *Madame Bo-*

vary remains in Sypher's view only striking pose and melodramatic emancipation.

Out of the nineteenth-century styleless confusion there crystallizes, however, a situation which becomes more style conscious with the explosion of the *réalisme manqué* into clearer and more differentiated neo-mannerisms called impressionism, symbolism, luminism, japonism, pre-raphaelism, romanism (Moréas). All of these mannered *-isms* have two principles in common. First they change the concept of realism from photographic imitation into "la déformation subjective de la nature" according to the formulation of Maurice Denis, or into "le monde ambigu de l'indéterminé" according to Mallarmé. Second they show the inseparability of literary innovations from scientific and technical innovations. Each of these trends is aware of one or more novelties such as use of the spectrum-analysis, the camera angle, a new sense of atmosphere, of apprehensive space and time, a polysensorial approach to the world which foreshadows already the polyvisual shots, the flashback and the close-up techniques of today, the double texture of novels already visible in Zola, the double dominant symbol: rhythm and image, proportion and *correspondances*, and most of all a functional relation of the detail to the total artifact, i.e. organic beauty. Needless to mention, Sypher exemplifies this with Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Mallarmé. There remains one "blockage" for a new great style, however, "the shackles of representation" and anecdotic narration. But some artists begin to see the light despite an indifferent public.

Therefore, between Darwin and Einstein, between Baudelaire and Gide, between Cézanne and Picasso something happens which may be called the creation of Cubism as a new epoch style, the first real style since Rococo: literature takes in stride first the replacement of its slipshod associationist psychology by an organic depth psychology leading to a valid theory of imagination; second, the scientist-vision of a cosmos of mathematical forms and signs which allows the destruction of the realistic object to the advantage of a reconstructed world of relationships and relativities. The acceptance of these two fundamental changes transforms *volupté* into *connaissance*, sensation into art. It develops simultaneity and perspectivism, technical primacy and multidimensional meaning, a polyphonic vision within a contrapuntal unity, configurational patterns in structure and texture as featured

in Bradley's configurational diagram; functional distribution of poetic elements in an artifact like objects warped in a gravitational field, creation of a "negative space" reaching from the absence-motif of frustration in Mallarmé to the absurd acceptance of "the random" in the anti-heroes of Camus and Beckett, cinematic recurrence replacing permanence and reaching from Gide's cubistic montage and syncopation in *Les Faux Monnayeurs* to Robbe-Grillet's profiles and immobilized moving objects corresponding to the technique of painters like Soulages with his "structures sans subassement objectivable". This slightly commentaried condensation of Sypher's exhaustive description of an epoch style, in its slow growth from Rococo to Cubism is, I hope, adequate.

For the criticism of details only art historians and scholars in the English field will be competent. If I may be permitted some remarks on the larger concepts, however, I would object to the too strong, (though admitted) dependence on Hauser's sociological approach. This forces Sypher to speak always of a never clearly defined, almost permanently existing "middle class" which is seen, so to speak, from the viewpoint of an *avant-garde bohémien* and responsible for all "blockages" of style. Second, such a grandiose intuitive essay with the highest potentiality of being eighty percent "correct" ought not to destroy its clear line by contrasting afterthoughts with detailed, unnecessarily introduced, limitations. This procedure which does not do away with a none the less prevailing simplification jeopardizes the clarity and readability of a presentation that allegedly does not want to be a panorama of literature but just a first attempt at a new literary periodization. Third, more serious is the silence about the fact that "cubistic" authors and critics are so much themselves theoreticians and practical adapters of their own theories and that "Cubism" as a real style is lacking in the spontaneity which produced great styles in the past, when artists enjoyed "la critique collaboratrice" of others than themselves. What actually has not changed since Mallarmé either, is the precedence of theory over creation and a public of sophisticated readers with the exclusion of those who "enjoy" literature and art without "studying" it. None the less, Sypher's attempt at a new periodization of style epochs, granted the prevailing conditions and the supposition that future generations may see things differently, retains its validity. The destruction of Romanticism as a unified style cannot be gainsaid any

longer and his description of the resurgence of the modern style which he calls Cubism is a work of refinement, wealth and precision.

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